HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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Ringing Dissent Marks Civil Rights Decision

By JAMES JACKSON KILPATRICK

"It is high time to challenge the assumption. . . that groups that think they have been mistreated or that have actually been mistreated have a constitutional right to use the public's streets, buildings and property to protest whatever, wherever, whenever they want, without regard to whom it may disturb."

—Justice Hugo Black

Well, hooray for Hugo Black! And hooray for Harlan, Clark and Stewart, too! In the course of dissenting last week in *Brown v. Louisiana*, the four of them came within a single wobbly vote of bringing sanity back to the Supreme Court in one field of "civil rights" law. As it was, Black delivered himself of one of those thunderclap opinions that should help to clear the air.

This particular "Brown case" arose on a Saturday morning two years ago, in the tiny town of Clinton, La. Five Negro men, headed by Henry Brown, a representative of CORE, suddenly crowded into the town's one-room public library. The presumption is that they expected to get thrown out because of their race. To their amazement, they were greeted courteously by Mrs. Katie Reeves, the assistant librarian. She asked if she could help them.

Brown produced a note, later introduced in evidence, as follows: "Wendal Arna, the Story of the Negro: Bontems." Mrs. Reeves translated this to mean a request for Arna Bontemps' *The Story of the Negro*, and checked through the card catalogue to see if the book were in the library's collection. It wasn't. She volunteered to get the book by mail from the state library and send it to Brown. Then she asked if she could help the others.

They stood mute as monuments. They simply stared. After 15 minutes of this unnerving business, the local sheriff arrived. Brown and his companions were charged with disorderly conduct in a public building. They appealed their sentences. And last week a shaky 5-4 majority reversed. Fortas wrote an opinion for the court, in which only Warren and Douglas joined. Brennan concurred separately. And Byron White, after wandering disconsolately up and down the field, at last provided a fifth vote.

Black exploded in a stunning dissenting opinion. He began by observing that there is a great difference between demonstrating in the public streets, which are accustomed to hurly-burly, and demonstrating in the peace and quiet of a public library. The Constitution that protects the former does not protect the latter.

In this case only one of the plaintiffs had any business in the library, and that was patently faked. The others had no library business whatever. Yet "there simply was no racial discrimination practiced in this case." The petitioners were treated with courtesy and granted every service to which they were entitled. They responded to this courtesy, and to this non-discriminatory treatment, with deliberately contemptuous behavior.

"It is high time," said Black, "to challenge the assumption in which too many people have too long acquiesced, that groups that think they have been mistreated or that have actually been mistreated have a constitutional right to use the public's streets, buildings and property to protest whatever, wherever, whenever they want, without regard to whom it may disturb."

For the Supreme Court to approve the petitioners' conduct in this case, said Black, was to establish an entirely new constitutional principle.

"This new constitutional principle means that even though these petitioners did not want to use the Louisiana public library for library purposes, they had a constitutional right nevertheless to stay there over the protest of the librarian who had lawful authority to keep the library orderly for the use of people who wanted to use its books, its magazines and its papers.

The Supreme Court of the United States. Seated from left are: Justices Tom Clark, Hugo Black, Chief Justice Earl Warren, William O. Douglas and John Harlan. Standing are Justices Byron White, William Brennan Jr., Potter Stewart and Abe Fortas. Dissenting justices in Brown v. Louisiana were Black, Harlan, Clark and Stewart.

"But the principle espoused also has a broader meaning. It means that the Constitution, the First and Fourteenth Amendments, requires the custodians and supervisors of the public libraries in this country to stand helplessly by while protesting groups advocating one cause or another stage 'sit-ins' or 'stand-ups' to dramatize their particular views on particular issues. And it should be remembered that if one group can take over libraries for one cause, other groups will assert the right to do it for causes which, while wholly legal, may not be so appealing to this court. The states are thus paralyzed with reference to control of their libraries for library purposes, and I suppose that inevitably the next step will be to paralyze the schools."

This startling prospect, wrote Black, finds no support in the Constitution. Sweeping though the First Amendment may be, "it does not guarantee to any person the right to use someone else's property, even that owned by government and dedicated to other purposes, as a stage to express dissident ideas."

Black wound up by talking directly to Negro civil rights leaders. It is an unhappy circumstance, he said, that persons who have had the greatest need for a government of equal laws should now seek to take the law into their own hands. Theirs is a worthy cause, motivated by noble ideas, "but I say once more that the crowd moved by noble ideas today can become the mob ruled by hate and passion and greed and violence tomorrow." The holding in this case "makes it more necessary than ever that we stop and look more closely at where we are going. I would affirm."

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Labor Wants More from Congress; Boycotts and Picketing Head List

By RALPH DE TOLEDANO

When AFL-CIO President George Meany let fly at the Johnson Administration, he was not merely giving in to pique. Big Labor had been certain it had the President in its pocket and that he would deliver on a whole series of demands, remaking, in effect, America's basic labor law. In harshly criticizing both the President and his Administration, Mr. Meany was making some not-so-veiled threats in the hope that this would bring results.

Implicit in the AFL-CIO's assertion that it would take its business elsewhere if Mr. Johnson did not arm-twist Congress into passing new—and, to many people, damaging—legislation was the annoyed attitude that what Big Labor wants, Big Labor gets. But if what the AFL-CIO seeks runs counter to the expressed views of Congress—then what? Who will capitulate?

Up before the House is one item which Mr. Meany and his associates

If AFL-CIO leader George Meany has his way, the law of the jungle will return to the construction industry.

want badly—an amendment to the Taft-Hartley Act that will bring greater labor-management turmoil, increase the cost of housing at a time when the Administration desperately hopes to launch new low-cost projects, and even slow down defense construction. If Congress were let alone, H.R. 10027 wouldn't stand a chance. But politics being what it is, and with the labor lobby threatening to walk out of the Democratic party, the odds change dramatically.

H.R. 10027, described esoterically as the common situs picketing bill, does not mean very much to the average voter. When spelled out, however, its significance becomes clear. What Big Labor hopes to do is to get the measure through with as little fuss as possible—something that requires White House pressure if it is to succeed.

Interestingly enough, it is the Jim-Crow-blighted building trades union which will profit the most by passage of H.R. 10027. And the building trades unions, by a strange coincidence, happen to pack a good deal of muscle as a very strong group and very well financed within the AFL-CIO—if only because their industry provides 15 per cent of the Gross National Product.

What these unions specifically want is the repeal of those provisions in Taft-Hartley which deal with secondary boycotts and on-site picketing at construction projects. When the Taft-Hartley Act was being drafted, it was generally held by both House and Senate that secondary boycotts were an unfair labor practice which visited hardship on workers who had no stake in the primary labor dispute.

If Union A threw a picket line around Plant B, as part of the collective bargaining process, this was considered a

Write your congressmen, telling them of your opposition to H.R. 10027.

legitimate activity and one that was and should continue to be a basic right. But to picket Plant C because it had business dealings with Plant B threw union members out of work and hurt an employer whose relations with labor were above reproach. In short, it penalized innocent bystanders who had no part in the original dispute and could not directly affect the outcome of the strike against Plant B.

The secondary boycott until then had been employed at construction sites where many contractors and many unions were working simultaneously. By throwing a picket line around the entire site, the whole construction project was halted. Electricians, plasterers, carpenters, etc., were shut out if, say, the plumbers or masons could not come to an agreement with a contractor. By barring common situs picketing, the rights of the other unions and contractors were protected.

H.R. 10027, in repealing that provision, would impose once more a law of the jungle on the construction industry. By halting all work, it would increase the cost of building. And it puts at the mercy of individual labor leaders the livelihood of all. If enacted, it would put in jeopardy the orderly construction of missile sites—so vital to the defense and foreign policy of the United States. Since wildcat work stoppages seem to be epidemic in the building trades—there were 93 defense construction strikes in one 15-month period alone—the encouragement that passage of H.R. 10027 would give becomes apparent.

These are facts that President Meany and the AFL-CIO would prefer not to be broadcast across the country. Neither do they like to have it shown that their demand for repeal of a sound provision of Taft-Hartley boils down to a grab for increased power in the hands of Big Labor. The leaders of organized labor insist that they are benefiting the working man, but the program they propose will hurt the economy and, as a consequence, the wage earner.

The AFL-CIO may say that unless it gets what it wants, it will take a walk at election time. The question is: Where will it walk?

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A GI of the 25th Infantry Division takes aim at a Viet Cong sniper as his buddies move along in a recent skirmish in the Cu Chi area of South Viet Nam.

Why We Must Intensify Our Campaign in Viet Nam

By ADM. ARLEIGH BURKE

Half a world away, in Southeast Asia, the most powerful nation on earth is resisting a take-over by a small, backward country whose people are 80 per cent illiterate.

The United States is blessed with a mighty economy, an advanced technology and superb fighting units. North Viet Nam is a nation of peasants, virtually without industry, food, or transportation.

And yet we are bogged down.

The reason is that our goals are too limited. Our fighting men are doing a magnificent job, but they are under restraints. Why? Because we, as a people, have delayed facing up to the ultimate problem and therefore are delaying the solution.

Our efforts to limit the action and our overtures toward negotiation seem, unfortunately, to have given the North Vietnamese and their fellow Communists in Peking and Moscow the impression that our will to win is uncertain.

It would be a much more difficult course, but a wiser one, to increase the intensity of the war now and convince our enemies that they are certain to lose.

By that I mean blockading North Viet Nam, mining Haiphong harbor, destroying all military installations in North Viet Nam regardless of location, and using whatever means necessary to prevent Communist supplies from entering South Viet Nam through Laos and Cambodia.

Adm. Burke, former chief of naval operations, is now director of the Center for Strategic Studies of Georgetown University, Washington, D.C.

Such a course of action, some will say, risks direct conflict with Red China. It does, but so does our present course. If all our decisions are to be controlled by that remote possibility, we have no business being west of San Francisco.

It should be made clear to Red China and the world that we hope she will not come in, but that if she does it will be on her own initiative, and she will be courting disaster.

Actually, our present course of piecemeal escalation runs a greater risk of bringing in Red China by gradual involvement.

If we escalate the war slowly, as present policies recommend, we shall protract the war in terms of time and cost. If past cold-war crises have taught us anything, they should have taught us to act swiftly—before the Communists compound and complicate the crisis—and in such a manner that they are convinced we really mean it.

If we persist in bit-by-bit escalation, the total cost to the United States for eventually freeing South Viet Nam is likely to be far greater in men and substance.

Thus the choices confronting us are grave, but the alternative of withdrawal from South Viet Nam is unthinkable. Such a course means abdicating our position of world leadership.

Is the Navy doing all it can and should do in the present circumstances? Could ship-based missiles be used against strategic targets rather than bombers flown by American boys? I am often asked these questions.

Additional naval actions might be considered, such as aircraft support, gunfire support and amphibious raids on North Viet Nam. Surface-based missiles, however, are not as practical as piloted bombers where pinpoint accuracy is necessary with conventional warheads.

But these matters are secondary to what should be a major element of our strategy: Getting across to the North Vietnamese that we are not half-hearted about the war and that we will not permit them to overrun a free nation.

It is now apparent that our temporary bombing halt and our efforts to bring North Viet Nam to negotiations have had no effect. The North Vietnamese seem confident they can win eventually. And what is worse, they seem to believe we are less than 100 per cent determined to prevent a Communist take-over of South Viet Nam.

A key to North Viet Nam's thinking—and therefore a key to what our strategy should be—may lie in recent history, specifically the battle of Dien Bien Phu in 1954.

The significance of that battle, in which the Indochinese defeated the French, is conspicuously important to our present situation. An oriental army equipped with obsolete or captured weapons vanquished a modern European force. An army with powerful air and naval support suffered an ignominious defeat by a force which had neither.

History teaches us also that the French campaign in Indochina failed not entirely because of combat conditions, but because of a lack of will on the part of the French government and people to pursue the war.

This was not accidental. It came about through continuous psychological warfare waged by Moscow through the French Communist party, bolstered by Communist organizations in other countries and supported by non-Communists who unwittingly accepted their propaganda.

The point, one which is vital to our strategy, is that the North Vietnamese convinced themselves they could drive out the French.

Therefore, it is logical to them that Ho Chi Minh and his advisers are confident they can repeat that victory by fighting hard enough and long enough, by terrorism and propaganda. It is logical for them to suppose, given their experience with the French and what may appear a lukewarm effort by the United States, that we, too, eventually will withdraw.

Certainly they have given no indication of willingness to negotiate, except on terms essentially requiring our withdrawal. Such conditions are, of course, unacceptable to the United States because they would endanger our national interests and security and those of the free people of Asia.

Let us not deceive ourselves about the split between the Soviet Union and Communist China. Although it has widened and intensified, both hierarchies seek Communist domination of the world and have repeatedly said so. While their differences of opinion may even give rise to border clashes and actual combat, it would be unwise for us to take comfort in their strife. Both seek to destroy the United States.

Therefore, the Soviet Union will not in any meaningful way help us in the long run. They may try to create conditions in which Red China and the United States are locked in direct conflict in the hope that we will wear ourselves out, paving the way for Soviet domination of the world.

If this thinking is valid, then the Soviet Union, as a principal patron of the Vietnamese war, will want to keep us embroiled there as long as possible.

There probably will not be a back-and-forth land campaign similar to that fought in Korea, although that is not impossible. One must remember that the object of war is not to kill people; it is to control them. There are many psychological methods which have yet to be tried, and we haven't been very adept at this recently.

In any event, it should be made clear to the Red Chinese that our actions will be limited to North Viet Nam, but any move on their part to enter the conflict would be a signal for an all-out offensive against them.

In such a contingency the use of any weapons should not be precluded. To those who are shocked, it should be repeated that it is wiser to face this problem now than after the Red Chinese have launched human-wave attacks on our free-world friends—and us.

In war and world politics, the decision is never between two extremes. It is rather between the lesser of two evils, and postponing the choice will not, as some seem to hope, make it go away.

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Government Employs One in Six Workers

From the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*

There is no better indicator of the trend toward socialism in the United States than the growth of government at all levels.

The rise has accelerated to the point that now one in every six working Americans is employed by federal, state or local government. As recently as 1955 the ratio was one in seven.

As the payroll mushrooms ever upward, the over-all governmental payroll has now reached $69 billion for nearly 13 million employes. A scant 10 years ago this payroll was $36.2 billion a year.

But as the "Great Society" welfare programs shift into high gear, an ever greater increase in governmental workers is expected.

Ralph Waldo Emerson once said: "The less government we have, the better—the fewer laws, and the less confided power."

There are those who still aren't employed by a local, state or federal government who believe Emerson was right.

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CAPITOL CAMERA

• Bobby Kennedy has greatly pleased the Communist Party, U.S.A., with his remarks on Viet Nam. The CP's official publication, *The Worker*, ran this banner headline on the front page of its February 27 issue: "RFK Jolts White House, Gains Popular Support." In the lead paragraph of the story, *The Worker* claimed there had been an "enthusiastic response from the people to the call of Sen. Robert Kennedy (D.-N.Y.) for participation of the National Liberation Front in a coalition South Vietnamese government. . . ." (For more on Bobby, see page 8.)

KENNEDY

• *Newly installed Peace Corps director Jack Hood Vaughn has revealed that Corpsmen may be soon sent behind the Iron Curtain. In a speech at the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor, Vaughn expressed the hope that the Communists would permit the Peace Corps to send volunteers into their nations.*

• Rep. James Martin (R.-Ala.) is currently favored to win the governorship of Alabama, according to the New York *Times*. Reporter Gene Roberts wrote from Montgomery that the GOP had made giant strides in recent weeks: "Already this year in Jefferson County, which embraces Birmingham and is the state's most populous county, three Democratic state representatives have switched to the Republican party. Two others have announced they will not seek re-election as Democrats, and thus are figuring in speculation as possible Republican candidates. Still another Democrat, a three-term member of the Alabama Democratic executive committee, has resigned to become a Republican legislative candidate." Observers feel Gov. George Wallace's gambit of running his wife, Lurleen, to succeed him in the state house has further weakened Democratic chances.

MARTIN

• *Rep. Wilbur Mills (D.-Ark.) chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, is considering introducing legislation to scrap trade privileges for Poland since that Red nation is one of Hanoi's biggest suppliers of war materiel.*

• In spite of expert Pentagon advice, Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara is going along with a State Department draft program to expand trade with the Soviet Union and its Eastern European satellites. According to those who have seen the program—scheduled to be sent to Congress for approval—it calls for lowering tariffs and extending credit to Communist nations. The draft proposal would also permit the Communists to buy high quality machine tools, computers and atomic energy materials.

McNAMARA

• *Wall Street insiders are predicting that the federal government will impose price and wage controls even before the election in an attempt to prevent inflationary pressures from blowing the lid off the economy.*

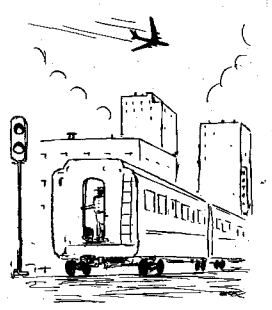
• U.S. and Soviet officials have quietly opened talks to reach agreement on a new cultural exchange pact. Representing the United States is Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs John M. Leedy. The Red delegation is headed by Serge K. Romanovsky, chairman of the Soviet Committee for Cultural Relations with foreign countries. FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover has repeatedly warned that cultural exchange agreements facilitate Soviet-bloc espionage, but his words have apparently gone unheeded.

HOOVER

This Week in Washington

Caesar's Urban Putsch

The President's extraordinary program to have the federal government grab control of America's cities and their surrounding metropolitan areas—and two-thirds of the U.S. population in the process—was advancing through the housing subcommittee of the House Committee on Banking and Currency last week.



As propounded by new Housing and Urban Development chieftain Robert C. Weaver, it sounded just as revolutionary as when the President uncorked the plan several weeks ago. The Democrats on the subcommittee, however, didn't blink; most appeared to be heartily in favor of LBJ's proposal to wipe out the independence of the cities. Remarked William A. Barrett (D.-Pa.), head of the subcommittee: "Our job is to give the Administration the legislative authority it needs to get the job done." Rep. Wright Patman (D.-Tex.), chairman of the Banking and Currency Committee, concurred, calling the whole program "bold and imaginative."

President Johnson has fashioned a host of tools to put the federal government in control of the cities, including the proposed Department of Transportation, the highway safety program, the rent subsidy proposal and the water pollution act. But at the heart of his plan to gather the cities' inhabitants under the thumb of federal bureaucrats are the two bills before the Barrett subcommittee: H.R. 12341, the Demonstration Cities Act, and H.R. 12946, the Urban Development Act, a plan to rebuild the metropolitan areas.

In order to receive aid under the Urban Development Act, a metropolitan area would have to design itself meticulously along lines laid down by federal bureaucrats. "Grants will be available only for projects in metropolitan areas which had established area-wide comprehensive planning and programming," Weaver told the subcommittee members. The secretary of HUD and a "metropolitan-wide comprehensive planning agency" would determine what areas were available for massive new injections of federal money.

Under this act, the federal government would be given brand-new powers to revise local building codes and to buy up huge amounts of property for the purpose of developing "new communities."

Similar principles apply to the Demonstration Cities program. Under this measure, the federal government would not offer any money for rebuilding a city until the city had completed a plan for urban and "social" renewal which met entirely with the approval of the federal government. The government, moreover, would pay the city 90 per cent of the cost to develop such a plan.

Any completed plan should show it will try to bring about a change in the "total environment" of the area affected. It must provide "schools, parks, playgrounds, community centers and access to all necessary community facilities"—all to be supervised by a federal coordinator.

The cities, said Weaver, must also take affirmative action "to assure that equal opportunity in the choice of housing will in fact be available to people of every race and income." (Does this mean one would have to sell or rent one's house to someone who couldn't afford it?)

If the plan is finally approved, the federal government would then enable the city to carry out such grandiose schemes by paying over 90 per cent of the rebuilding costs.

Because of the federal government's promise to inject phenomenally large doses of money into selected cities, mayors are said to be scrambling over themselves to support the bills and get some of this cash. Mayors John Lindsay of New York and Jerome Cavanagh of Detroit both rushed to the housing subcommittee last week to say they backed the program, but faulted the measures for not providing enough money.

Some conservative Republicans and Democrats are even supporting the program. One conservative congressman said last week he thought he might "have to vote for it" because his district demanded it. As one competent observer commented:

"The Demonstration Cities program is encouraging almost every mayor to beg at the federal trough, for those who choose to stay out of the program will lose out on tens of millions of dollars of federal money."

The Administration has estimated the cost of its demonstration cities program at $2.3 billion over six years, but experts say the real figure will be at least $10 billion—and probably more. The Administration figure applies, moreover, only to 60 or 70 demonstration programs, but last week Weaver indicated all cities would eventually come in under the plan.

Can this federal power grab be halted? Only if an aroused public lets Congress know it opposes this attempt to seize the cities.

African Appeasement Show

President Lyndon Johnson, with U.N. Ambassador Arthur Goldberg as prompter, has reportedly okayed the current hearings by the House subcommittee on Africa, the aim of which is to create a favorable climate of opinion for U.S. government sanctions against South Africa.

Rep. Barratt O'Hara (D.-Ill.), head of the subcommittee, told *Human Events*, last week that South Africa represents a threat to "international peace and security"—even though it has not committed aggression against any neighboring country—and that he believes economic sanctions would be useful in changing the South African government's position on apartheid. (While many conservatives are opposed to South Africa's racial policies, few believe the United States should impose sanctions on a regime which has no aggressive designs on her neighbors.)

After claiming he cleared his hearing with Goldberg, who, he emphasized, has direct contact with the White House, O'Hara said one of the main reasons for the hearings was to appease other African nations. These nations, he said, have threatened us with voting to seat Red China in the United Nations at the next session in September unless we take the lead against South Africa and apartheid.

Red China's admission to the United Nations, of course, might have damaging political effects for the Democrats in 1966.

O'Hara indicates his hearings may go on for months and that they might help engender a public antipathy toward South Africa. In a press release publicizing the hearings, O'Hara said: "While the committee cannot directly influence U.S. foreign policy, a 'sense of Congress resolution,' should the hearings warrant it, might have a strong influence on the future course of investments" for South Africa.

Two witnesses last week, Waldemar A. Nielsen, president of the African-American Institute, and Vernon McKay, director of the Program of African Studies at Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies, favored economic sanctions.

In a prepared statement, Nielsen said the United States should "cease immediately any further assistance or encouragement to new American investment in South Africa. . . . It should inform every potential American investor of the dangers of instability in South Africa. . . ." McKay, while at one point claiming he wasn't for sanctions, then said he favored removing South Africa's sugar quota and discouraging new investment.

The Chamber and Red Trade

Some concerned businessmen are hoping that the Chamber of Commerce of the United States will pass a resolution at its annual May 1-4 meeting in Washington opposing Red trade with Communist nations, especially while the United States is at war in Viet Nam. The AFL-CIO has gotten behind such a policy, say some, why not the Chamber?

In the past, the Chamber has come up with confusing resolutions on the subject, some of which seemed to favor expanding Red trade. And Jay H. Cerf, manager of the international department of the Chamber, wrote an article for the Dec. 5, 1965, New York *Times Magazine* called: "We Should Do More Business with the Communists."

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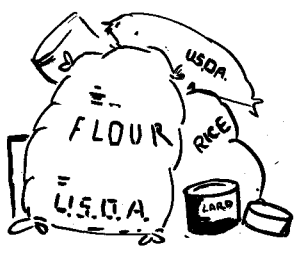
A number of businessmen are now saying that the Chamber should draw up a policy statement clearly opposed to such trade, particularly since LBJ's "peace offensive" has failed and since new information has been developed revealing that both the Soviet Union and its Eastern European satellites are shipping vital war material to Hanoi. Trade, it is felt, should not be offered to the Communists, at least until they stop supplying the North Vietnamese with war goods.

If local chapters care to put the national Chamber on record as opposed to Red trade as long as the Viet Nam war lasts, they should start drawing up resolutions immediately.

According to national Chamber headquarters in Washington, policy recommendations from local organizations will definitely be considered by the Chamber's Policy Committee if submitted 40 days prior to the annual meeting. If enough local organizations draw up resolutions against Red trade, the Policy Committee may consider the proposal anyway. But if those opposed to trade seriously want to have their opinions considered they should act at once.

Freeman's Newest Farm Plan

LBJ's "Food for Freedom" program has been sold to the public as a way to feed the hungry and "free" the farmer, but the nation's lawmakers are contending it may do neither. The basic premise of the program is that the world faces mass starvation unless the United States vigorously steps up food and fibre production and the federal government, in turn, sends the food and fibre to the "hungry" countries of the world at a subsidized price they can afford. American technology and other aid would also be more rapidly injected into the hungry nations. Some estimate the cost of LBJ's proposal to be more than $4 billion a year—far more than the cost of the present "Food for Peace" program which expires at the end of this year.



To implement this new plan, the Administration has introduced H.R. 12784 and H.R. 12785, now undergoing intensive examination by the House Agriculture Committee.

The Administration has claimed its new approach to agriculture would relax bureaucratic controls, but, in fact, say conservative lawmakers, more controls are to be clamped upon the farmer. The Administration has pretended that with new demands for food the farmer will be allowed to put more acreage into production. But those who have examined the bill say some 20 million *additional* acres of farm land will be forced into retirement by the Department of Agriculture.

The Administration has tagged it "Food for Freedom" legislation, but the Administration has scuttled all the restrictions against using surplus food for Communist nations written into the current Food for Peace program.

The Administration claims in one breath that the "surplus" concept will be eliminated, but H.R. 12784 actually intends to *increase* surpluses on a permanent basis.

As Secretary Orville Freeman said to the committee about H.R. 12784: "Under present law, the Commodity Credit Corporation is under a mandate to dispose of its stocks as rapidly as possible. . . . The proposed legislation would permit us to stop short of total disposition of our inventories. . . . Under this bill, authority would be provided to take action to build up reserve stocks if that course of action seemed to be required to assure adequate supplies and stable prices."

Far from decreasing bureaucratic control, this new bill will invest the secretary of agriculture with far broader authority over the farmer than ever. He would be empowered to determine what commodities and the quantity of each commodity to be reserved—authority he presently lacks.

The secretary, with seemingly no restrictions, would also be able to adjust support prices, acreage allotments and marketing quotas to achieve the production necessary to establish and maintain the reserves he would like to have on hand. Many more commodities could be stored than is permitted under present law.

Charles B. Shuman, president of the nation's largest farm organization, the American Farm Bureau, has offered some sharp criticism of the President's program and has come up with his own plan to aid the hungry.

Addressing the Agriculture Committee, Shuman claimed the President's proposal to establish "food and fiber reserves" would only perpetuate the government's ability to use its surpluses as a political weapon. In the past, he said, the government has paid farmers from the federal treasury to comply with government programs. If a farmer didn't participate he received no payments and would soon find the Department of Agriculture, through the CCC, dumping food on the market in order to depress food prices. This action would teach a lesson to farmers who refused to go along with government programs and Freeman plans to retain these punitive powers in his new farm legislation.

Shuman said that if the Administration really wants to aid the underdeveloped countries it should help them remove government controls over agriculture. "The one common denominator that is to be found in virtually all hungry nations is their Socialist political-economic system; i.e., a government-managed economy. It is increasingly apparent that Socialist nations cannot use knowledge effectively, even when we give it to them.

"The world does not need to starve if the underdeveloped nations can be induced to accept the profit method of capital formation—competitive capitalism. Further extension of food aid by the United States should be conditioned upon the willingness of the recipient nations to replace government management of agriculture with a market price system." (Henry Hazlitt discusses this problem on page 9.)

By the week's end, however, the concept of private enterprise appeared to be the one form of aid the Administration did not wish to bestow upon the hungry nations overseas or upon America's own farmers.

The Peace Corps Radicals

The Peace Corps—even without Sargent Shriver—continues to wend its way leftward. The corps has now decided to co-sponsor a conference of radicals at Dartmouth College on April Fool's Day. Billed as covering "Community Development and the University," the conference hopes to develop methods of promoting "social change both abroad and *in the United States.*" (emphasis added).

Since when, some are asking, was the Peace Corps set up to promote "social change" in the United States?

Among the radical speakers the Peace Corps is co-sponsoring: James Forman, executive secretary of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (Snick). Snick recently issued a statement accusing the United States of pursuing a "murderous" policy in Viet Nam.

Another speaker highlighting the meeting: Saul Alinsky, who has set up several tax-supported community action organizations to help out the "poor." Dr. Harold Fey, editor of the liberal *Christian Century*, says Alinsky's programs are "Marxist" oriented and that Alinsky proposes "a political movement whose object is to establish control over urban society by raising up from its ruins a power structure dictatorship based on slum dwellers."

The Peace Corps, moreover, is co-sponsoring the meeting with one of Dartmouth's far-out groups, the Political Action Commission of the Dartmouth Christian Union. A chaplain at the college describes the commission as "left of liberal" and closely allied with such radical groups as Snick and CORE. While the PAC has taken no official position on Viet Nam, the chaplain says most of the members of the group are opposed to America's involvement, though they recognize the difficulty of immediate unilateral withdrawal.

In spite—or maybe because—of the radical nature of the meeting, the Peace Corps is sending Frank Mankiewicz, Peace Corps director of Latin American programs, and Harris Wofford, the Peace Corps' associate director, to address the conference.

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See page 12.

CAPITOL CAMERA

• Liberal Rep. Pat Jennings (D.-Va.) has dropped plans to challenge conservative Sen. Harry F. Byrd Jr. in Virginia's Democratic primary. Jennings had said that "in all probability" he would challenge Byrd but soundings taken across the Old Dominion apparently convinced him he could not win. Virginia liberals will now support former State Sen. Armstead Boothe but Byrd is not expected to have much trouble winning the nomination.

JENNINGS

• *Poverty bureaucrats are failing in their goal to get the "poor" to vote for representation on local poverty boards—and they're spending thousands of taxpayer dollars in the process. In Cleveland, for example, only 8,000 of 200,000 eligible "poor" recently showed up to cast votes for five representatives of the local poverty program. Thousands of man hours and $8,000 in cash were spent to get out the vote, but few seemed to care. Businesses contributed sound trucks and school children drew posters like "The Poor Shall Inherit the Earth. Why Wait? Vote Now!" While only 4.2 per cent of the eligible vote turned out, Cleveland poverty workers felt their campaign was as successful as the one in Kansas City. Poverty bureaucrats there spent $50,000 in a drive which turned out only 5.3 per cent of the eligible voters.*

• Acceptance of the Viet Cong into a coalition South Vietnamese government (as demanded by Bobby Kennedy) would result inevitably in renewed hostilities and bloodshed, according to Vietnamese Ambassador Vu Van Thai. In a Washington speech, Thai said that Saigon would categorically reject any coalition government with the Reds. "There are irrefutable reasons that impel us to do so," he said. "The so-called National Liberation Front is but a part of the North Vietnamese war machinery, the talking organ set up to delude world opinion."

KENNEDY

• *President Johnson apparently doesn't like his friends giving him advice, even when it's friendly. Sen. Thomas Dodd (D.-Conn.), for example, recently wrote an article saying we should step up our military and political warfare effort in Viet Nam. Cloakroom talk has it that when LBJ saw the piece he phoned his good friend, remarking: "Look, Tom, when I need advice on Viet Nam I'll call you."*

• Luci Baines Johnson recently told readers of *McCall's* magazine that she and her husband-to-be, Patrick Nugent, would live on his salary alone. Young Nugent, who is currently in the Air Force, will hold down a minor post with the Senate Commerce Committee after his release from the service. His salary will reportedly be about $6,000 a year, but Luci is now looking at posh town houses in the $72,000-$110,000 range. Washington wags say that Luci apparently picked up some budgetary tricks from her father.

LUCI JOHNSON

• *During his successful campaign for the New York mayoralty, John Lindsay promised to slash $300 million in fat from the city budget. Now Lindsay's deputy mayor, Robert Price, says that it will take four years to put those savings into effect. Meanwhile, Lindsay is readying plans for a city income tax to bring in $600 million in new revenues.*

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Does the Council of Churches Speak for You?

A look into the strange method the NCC uses to make decisions for '40 million' Americans

By FULTON LEWIS JR.

The National Council of Churches is back in the headlines again after a meeting of its General Board—its policy-making group—in St. Louis, which voted 90 to 3, with one abstention, in favor of admission of Communist China to the United Nations, and for consideration of the establishment of diplomatic communications with Red China, free travel between the two countries, sale of food and other non-strategic items (whatever they may be—everything is strategic in war) to Communist China through commercial channels and to attempt to involve Red China in international negotiations on disarmament and a nuclear test ban.

For the moment, the merit of the proposals is of little or no concern because a much broader principle is represented here and it happens to be one which I debated with a former president of the National Council of Churches—Mr. J. Erwin Miller—about a month ago in Columbia, S.C., which debate, I might say, has been very prejudicially publicized through the propaganda hierarchy controlled by the National Council of Churches. But we will pass that over to reach the fundamental points involved.

Throughout the 15 years of its existence, the National Council of Churches has been under almost constant attack for these political policy statements issued by its General Board, to the extent that in recent times it has gone through the formality of including a sort of disclaimer in its pronouncements, such as the one that was made last June before the House Education and Labor Committee when the council supported repeal of Section 14b of the Taft-Hartley Act.

Said Mr. Carrothers, official representative of the NCC:

"I have been asked to make this statement on behalf of the National Council of Churches [of which he is secretary of the Commission on the Church in Economic Life]. As you know from previous testifiers for the council, it comprises 31 Protestant and Orthodox communions. These bodies include total membership in the neighborhood of 40 million people. Obviously, we make no claim to be speaking for each of these member churches individually, nor for all the members in any one communion. The viewpoints presented in this statement have been officially endorsed by the National Council of Churches policy-determining General Board, which is broadly representative of its member church bodies and whose members are designated by them."

Now I am not even going to argue the merits of Section 14b of the Taft-Hartley Act here, or what possible concern it could be to the National Council of Churches because that, too, is not part of the question at issue.

The sole point in question is just what right the National Council has to speak on any of these topics in the name of anybody except the individual members of the General Board who may be present at a given meeting.

The national organization of the Protestant Episcopal Church has actually specifically repudiated all statements by the General Board of the National Council, and has stated that no pronouncement is binding on, or representative of the position of the Episcopal Church and actually adopted the following resolution at its 1961 general convention in Detroit:

"Now, be it resolved, the House of Bishops concurring, that this convention recognizes the importance of having the National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. speak to the churches about the Christian implications of contemporary social and economic and political issues, but also declares that no pronouncement or statement can, without action by this church's authority, be regarded as an official of this church."

And I might mention that as a preamble to that resolution, the following language was adopted:

"Whereas serious questions have been raised in some parishes about the manner in which certain pronouncements and statements on controversial topics have been issued from the office of the National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., with the authority thereof of the General Assembly and the General Board not made clear, and,

"Whereas certain of these pronouncements and statements have seemed to many to have been issued as if they carried the endorsement of the several constituent churches when in fact they did not."

Nevertheless, despite the technical disclaimers, the General Board of the National Council is still issuing controversial statements and leaving the impression with the general public that they are speaking in the name of 31 constituent Protestant churches—sometimes they say 31, sometimes 30—and representing 40 million Protestant and Orthodox Christians in the United States.

They deny this; let's see what the facts are.

The story by the Associated Press, under St. Louis dateline, February 22, read as follows:

"The National Council of Churches' General Board urged today that Red China be admitted to the United Nations and that the United States study diplomatic recognition for the Communist country. The vote was 90 to 3, with one abstention, on a wide-ranging resolution that also called for more communication between this country and China. The General Board is the policy-making body for the National Council of Churches which represents 30 Protestant, Anglican and Orthodox groups and millions of church members."

That was the Associated Press.

The United Press story read as follows:

"The General Board of the National Council of Churches, a body representing 40 million Protestant and Orthodox Christians in the United States, has called for a major reversal of U.S. policy toward mainland China. The board, by a 90-to-3 vote yesterday, urged the U.S. government to support the seating of China in the United Nations and to give careful study to regularizing diplomatic communications with the Peoples' Republic of China."

Now would you like to know what the General Board of the National Council of Churches actually is?

First, if you are a Protestant, neither you nor your minister nor anyone associated with you in your church has ever been asked *their* opinion, or *your* opinion on any of the issues on which these pronouncements are being made. The National Council consists of a General Assembly which meets every three years, and has 750 members, and from which is selected the General Board of about 275 members, which makes these pronouncements, and meets every three months.

As representatives of 40 million Protestants, including you and me, you would think that 275 individuals, selected through a long and tedious procedure rather than by direct vote of the people they are supposed to represent, would be rather small opinion-sampling. But let me enlighten you as to the procedure involved in these General Board meetings.

You, I am sure, are familiar with the fact that a quorum is required for the enactment of business in any parliamentary group—which this is—and ordinarily that quorum, as in the Senate and House of Representatives, is a simple majority of the membership. In many cases, however, a quorum is prescribed as three quarters of the membership, or two thirds of the membership.

Do you know what the quorum is for the General Board of the National Council of Churches to make these pronouncements in your name and mine?

Remember, there are 275 members of the General Board. Would you think the quorum should be three fourths, or two thirds, or one half of that number?

Well, whichever you think, prepare for a shock. The quorum was 20 members, a majority of whom—11—could issue these pronouncements in your name. In 1963, due to heavy pressure, it was changed to 50, which means that 26 individuals can do the job.

The fact is, there is a case on record where only 37 members of the General Board made such a pronouncement.

The vote on February 22 was 90 to 3, and oddly enough, out of the 275, there is an astounding frequency with which the same faces turn up, time and again, at these board meetings.

Quoting the UPI again—"the General Board of the National Council of Churches, representing 40 million Protestants and Orthodox Christians in the United States. . . ."

That's sheer fraud.

Coming Soon: A complete Human Events **report on the National Council of Churches.**

□ □ □

SCATHING COMMENTS—Colleagues of Sen. Wayne Morse (D.-Ore.) says the peace-at-any-price ultra-liberal was livid after reading a scathing description of his antics in a Scripps-Howard newspaper editorial. The editorial declared: "Sen. Morse, as everyone knows, is a shallow-minded, vindictive politico and—in Latin American matters an ignorant one—who will stoop to any depth of personal attack, under his senatorial privilege and protection, of course, to injure those who do not treat his venom with the respect he thinks the product of his fangs deserves."

□ □ □

CURB UNION SPENDING—The National Right-to-Work Committee is considering a legal campaign to curb political spending by unions. A spokesman says the committee hopes to get behind lawsuits filed by individual workers who complain their unions were spending money for political purposes over their objections. The Supreme Court has ruled that unions must refund the portion of dues they use for political spending to workers who do not agree with this use of their dollars.

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Will It Be Teddy in '68?

By TED LEWIS in the New York *Daily News*

The relationship between the two Kennedy brothers in the Senate, Bobby and Teddy, has never shown any outward sign of political strain. Yet it is increasingly evident that what one Kennedy proposes, the other Kennedy tends to steer clear of, often with a display of sublime indifference.

Today, for example, we have the bitter wrangle between Vice President Humphrey and Sen. Robert F. Kennedy (D.-N.Y.), over the possible role of the Viet Cong in a postwar South Vietnamese government. Here is Bobby being roundly and sarcastically abused by Humphrey for suggesting a Viet Cong participation. And way off on the sidelines, keeping mum on the issue, is Sen. Edward M. Kennedy (D.-Mass.).

The Humphrey-Bobby clash, meanwhile, gets interpreted as of great political significance, the first set-to on a big issue between the two chief potential rivals for the 1972 presidential nomination.

It is far too early for the smart money to be placed on either Hubert or Bobby to succeed President Johnson, if LBJ wins a second term.

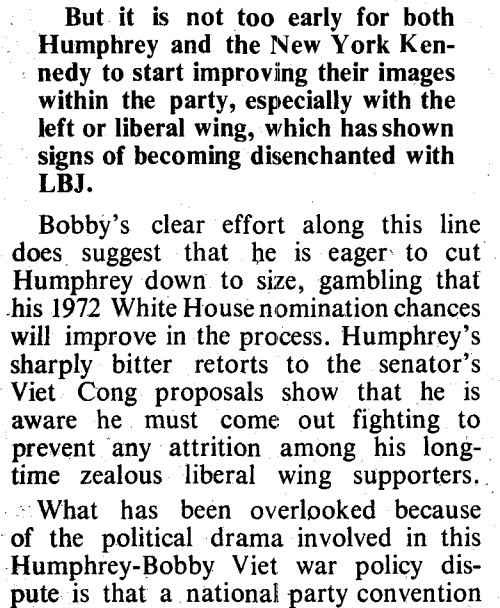
But it is not too early for both Humphrey and the New York Kennedy to start improving their images within the party, especially with the left or liberal wing, which has shown signs of becoming disenchanted with LBJ.

Bobby's clear effort along this line does suggest that he is eager to cut Humphrey down to size, gambling that his 1972 White House nomination chances will improve in the process. Humphrey's sharply bitter retorts to the senator's Viet Cong proposals show that he is aware he must come out fighting to prevent any attrition among his longtime zealous liberal wing supporters.

What has been overlooked because of the political drama involved in this Humphrey-Bobby Viet war policy dispute is that a national party convention tends to choose as its presidential nominee someone who has not had a part in splitting the party wide open, but one aloof from the factional row.

This neutral corner is a political spot of some merit. At present it is Sen. Teddy Kennedy's posture. He is not in the doghouse at the White House. He has not taken a lick at Hubert in behalf of his brother Bobby. He has the politically valuable Kennedy name. For that matter, he has more charisma than his older brother, is far more the extrovert, and as a political figure has shown an ability to develop in stature without affronting any wing of his party.

Teddy's only big political blunder since he came to the Senate was in pressing too hard to get Frank Morrissey, that old Kennedy political retainer, made a federal judge. The comeuppance he received in that crushing defeat was taken with good grace. It was an embarrassing but valuable lesson in his "growing up" politically.



Sen. Edward Kennedy (D.-Mass.) has remained silent while Bobby plays up to the left wing.

In that Senate fight over Morrissey he had only nominal support from his brother. It was as if Bobby had said: "You did a damfool thing, but I won't run out on you."

Except for the Kennedy family involvement, Bobby had no obligation even to give Teddy support on the Morrissey issue. After all, Teddy had not gotten up to back Bobby to the hilt when the New York senator rapped Johnson for rushing our troops into the Dominican Republic.

Nor did Teddy make himself any sort of target for political attack when Bobby criticized the resumption of bombing of North Viet Nam last month.

And there has been the same sort of silence during the big ruckus that exploded when Bobby proposed that the Viet Cong be included in a coalition South Vietnamese government, either before or after the free election returns are in.

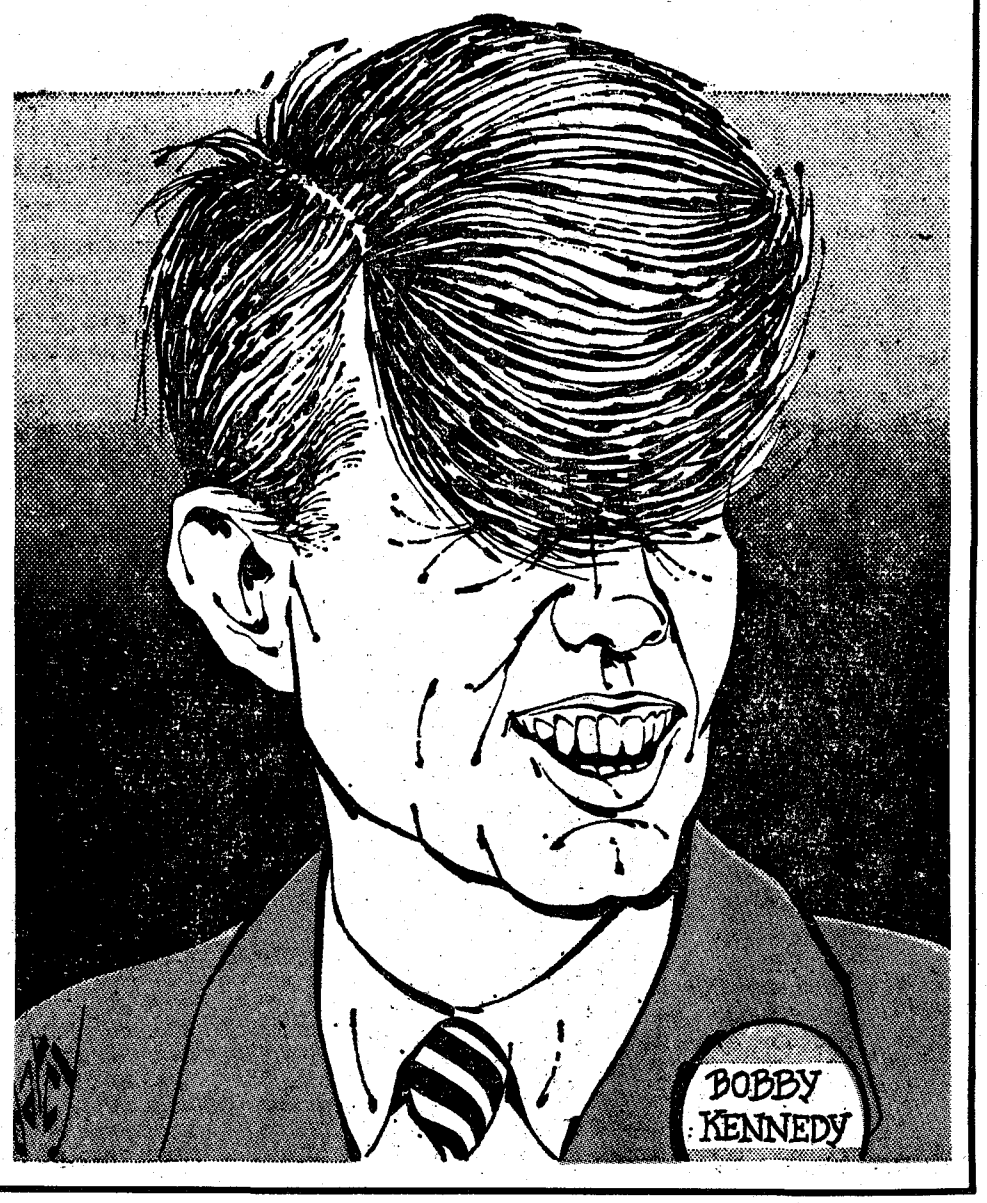
Instead, the Massachusetts senator has concentrated on other aspects of the Viet Nam situation. His chief interest is in American aid for the 740,000 refugees now in South Viet Nam, and in getting the United Nations to support aid projects which would improve the lot of the peasants.

These are comparatively noncontroversial proposals, as Teddy certainly realizes.

The young Massachusetts senator's legislative activities from now on are, in a way, more important to watch than the highly controversial issues which brother Bobby stirs up from time to time.

Hubert Humphrey should realize this. He could, in the long run, have more to fear from Teddy than Bobby. That does not pertain entirely to far-off presidential 1972 but to a degree, at least, to presidential 1968.

'As Far as I Can See, A Coalition Government Is Best'



By Darcy in the Houston *Post*

Teddy will be 36 in 1968. Humphrey may think he himself is close to a cinch to being chosen by LBJ as his running mate again. But there is a volatile quality about White House favorites. Come 1968 and the President might prefer a Kennedy rather than a Humphrey on the national ticket.

What a fascinating political maneuver that would be for the master strategist in the White House! It would cook Bobby's goose for good. It would be Teddy, Johnson's second-term vice president, who would have the inside track for presidential 1972.

It could turn out to be an admirable "consensus" choice. If the Humphrey-Bobby argument grows more heated, as it likely will, the party's left wing could be split wide open between the two political personalities. Who else but Teddy then would be acceptable to all wings?

Federal Intimidation Seen Increasing Under LBJ

Are federal investigators used to coerce and persecute citizens who oppose government policies or programs? Are we now in an era of intimidation-by-investigation?

Reporter Jack Anderson suggests that we are in a story published in the February 20 issue of *Parade* magazine.

He writes: "A contractor who won't accept government terms, a taxpayer who contests a government ruling, even the associate of another person under investigation —all may now find themselves hounded by gumshoes."

Here are some examples cited by Anderson:

• Private homeowners near military bases who objected when the government started to take over their property said they were "suddenly besieged by tax agents." The Department of Justice, for example, initiated tax pressure on Edward Carmack, a Nashville builder who didn't want to sell 600 homes at Sewart Air Force Base, Tenn., at Uncle Sam's price.

• Reluctant taxpayers may find their funds tied up by the "insidious" device of jeopardy assessment. In Missouri, a federal agent appeared at a bank with a $2.35 assessment on a businessman's account. He could have collected the money from the businessman who lived nearby, but preferred to tie up his account.

• A Baltimore insurance man who did business with Teamsters' boss Jimmy Hoffa was so hounded by federal investigators that he said: "Five years ago I would have been willing to die for my country; now I hate my country for what it has done to me."

• Frequently, newsmen who have written critical stories about the government suddenly find federal investigators gum-shoeing them. One reported his tax returns were audited for the first time.

• One high official used the Internal Revenue Service to take revenge on a driver whose car bumped his Cadillac at Washington National Airport. The official copied down the license number of the other, traced its owner, then ordered an investigation of his taxes.

• Some citizens who wrote to President Johnson expressing sympathy for the Viet Nam demonstrators received answers from the Internal Security Division of the Justice Department. The latter blandly denied this was an attempt at intimidation.

• A Michigan contractor was fined $30,000 and sentenced to a three-year prison term because he followed the government's own suggestion and filed estimated instead of exact costs on a federal contract. The government claimed he had submitted estimated, hence false figures. An Appeals Court set aside the guilty verdict.

Anderson concludes: "Most Americans look upon Uncle Sam as a benevolent Big Brother, which he usually tries to be. But lately our federal uncle has been developing an alarming vindictive streak."

□ □ □

BASIS FOR REVOLUTION—"When the people are encouraged to turn to government to settle all of their problems for them, the basis for all revolutions is thereby established. For then the people expect the government to provide them with all of the material things they want. And when these things are not forthcoming, they resort to violence to get them. And why not—since the government itself has told them that these responsibilities belong to government rather than to them? I am convinced that a revolution would not be possible if the only relationship between government and the people was to guarantee them their liberty and security."
—Frederic Bastiat, French economist and legislator, addressing the National Assembly in 1849.

□ □ □

WE KNOW WHO PAYS—The federal budget is an impressive looking volume which is little read because everybody knows how it's going to come out and whom it's going to come out of.—From the San Diego *Union*

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The Fallacy of Foreign Aid

By HENRY HAZLITT in *The Freeman*

The advocates of foreign aid believe that it helps not only the country that gets it but the country that gives it. They believe, therefore, that it promotes worldwide "economic growth." They are mistaken in all these assumptions.

I should make clear at the beginning that when I refer here to foreign aid I mean government-to-government "economic" aid. I am not considering here intergovernmental military aid extended either in wartime or peacetime. The justification of the latter will depend, in each case, only partly on economic considerations, and mainly on a complex set of political and military factors.

It ought to be clear, to begin with, that foreign aid retards the economic growth and the capital development of the country that grants it. If it is fully paid for out of taxes at the time it is granted, it puts an additional tax burden on industry and reduces incentives at the same time as it takes funds that would otherwise have gone into new domestic investment.

If it is not fully paid for, but financed out of budget deficits, it brings all the evils of inflation. It leads to rising prices and costs. It leads to deficits in the balance of payments, to a loss of gold, and to loss of confidence in the soundness of the currency unit. In either case foreign aid must put back the donor country's capital development.

All the consequences just described have occurred in the United States. In the last 20 years American foreign aid has reached the stupendous total of $115 billion. As the public debt has increased from $259 billion at the end of 1945 to $321 billion now, this means that $62 billion of this foreign aid was in effect paid for by borrowing and by inflating the currency, and $53 billion by added taxation.

Without the foreign-aid handouts we could have avoided both the inflation and the added taxation. We could have avoided both the cumulative deficit of $27 billion in the balance of payments and the loss of $9 billion gold in the last eight years.

Today, American liberals are talking about all the billions we ought or will need to spend to extend and improve our roads and highways, to improve and increase our housing and to rehabilitate our blighted cities, to combat air pollution and water pollution, to bring more water to the cities and to turn salt water into fresh. The $115 billion that went into foreign aid would have covered practically all the improvements in this direction that most of these liberals are demanding.

The Pump-Priming Argument

We sometimes hear it said by American advocates of foreign aid (and we very frequently hear it said by many of the foreign recipients of our aid, and *always* by the Communists) that the United States has got great economic advantages out of its foreign aid program. We desperately need "outlets" and "new markets" for our "surplus." We must give part of our goods away, or give foreigners the dollars with which to buy them, to keep our factories going and to maintain full employment. This program was even necessary, according to the Communists, to "postpone" the "inevitable collapse" of capitalism.

It should not be necessary to point out that this whole argument is unmitigated nonsense. If it were true that we could create prosperity and full employment by making goods to give away, then we would not have to give them to foreign countries. We could accomplish the same result by making the goods to dump into the sea. Or our government could give the money or the goods to our own poor.

It ought to be clear even to the feeblest intelligence that nobody can get rich by giving his goods away or making more goods to give away. What seems to confuse some otherwise clear-headed people when this proposition is applied to a nation rather than an individual is that it is possible for particular firms and persons within the nation to profit by such a transaction at the expense of the rest.

The firms, for example, that are engaged in making the exported foreign-aid commodities are paid for them by the aid-receiving country or by the U.S. government. But the latter gets the money, in turn, from the American taxpayers. The taxpayers are poorer by the amount taken. If they had been allowed to keep it, they would have used it themselves to buy the goods they wanted.

True, these would not have been precisely the same goods as those that were made and exported through the foreign-aid program. But they would have supplied just as much employment. And Americans, rather than foreigners, would have got what was made by this employment.

Buying Friends

"Yes," it may be conceded, "all of this may be true; but let us not look at the matter so selfishly, or at least not so nearsightedly. Think of the great blessings that we have brought to the aid-receiving countries, and think of the long-run political and other intangible gains to the United States. We have prevented the aid-receiving countries from going Communist, and the continuance of our aid is necessary to continue to keep them from going Communist. We have made the recipient countries our grateful allies and friends, and the continuance of our foreign aid is necessary to continue to keep them our grateful allies and friends."

First, let us look at these alleged intangible gains to the United States. We are here admittedly in the realm of opinion, in the realm of might-have-beens and might-be's, where proof either way is hardly possible. But there is no convincing evidence that any of our aid recipients that have *not* gone Communist *would* have done so if they had not got our economic aid.

Communist party membership in aid-receiving France and Italy did not fall off; in fact, it has shown a tendency to increase in both countries with increasing prosperity. And Cuba, the one country in the Western Hemisphere that has gone Communist, did so in 1959 in spite of having shared freely in our foreign aid in the preceding 12 years. Cuba had been favored by us, in fact, beyond all other countries in sugar import quotas and other indirect forms of economic help.

As for gaining grateful allies or even friends, there is no evidence that our $11 billion of lend-lease to Russia in World War II endeared us to the Russian leaders; that our aid to Poland, Yugoslavia, Indonesia and Egypt turned Gomulka, Tito, Sukarno, or Nasser into dependable allies; that it has made Gaullist France, or India, Mexico, Chile, Laos, Cambodia, Bolivia, Ghana, Panama, Algeria and scores of other nations that have got our aid, into our grateful friends.

On the other hand, there is good reason to suspect that our aid has often had the opposite effect. Countries have found that whenever they look as if they are in danger of going Communist they get more American aid.

This veiled threat becomes a recognized way of extorting more aid. And the leaders of governments getting our aid find it necessary to insult and denounce the United States to prove to their own followers that they are "independent" and not the "puppets" of "American imperialism." It is nearly always the U.S. embassies and information offices that periodically get rocks thrown through their windows, not the embassies of countries that have never offered any aid.

Humanitarian Motives

"Still," it may be (and is) objected, "to mention any of these things is to take a shortsighted and selfish point of view. We should give foreign aid for purely humanitarian reasons. This will enable the poor nations to conquer their poverty, which they cannot do without our help. And when they have done so, we will have the reward of the charitable deed itself. Whether the recipients are grateful to us or not, our generosity will redound in the long run to our own self-interest. A world half rich and half poor is an unsafe world; it breeds envy, hatred and war. A fully prosperous world is a world of peace and good will. Rich nations are obviously better customers than poor nations. As the underdeveloped nations develop, American foreign trade and prosperity must also increase."

The final part of this argument is beyond dispute. It is to America's long-run interest that all other countries should be rich and productive, good customers and good sources of supply. What is wrong with the argument is the assumption that government-to-government aid is the way to bring about this desired consummation.

The quickest and surest way to production, prosperity and economic growth is through private enterprise. The best way for governments to encourage private enterprise is to establish justice, to enforce contracts, to insure domestic peace and tranquillity, to protect private propperty and to secure the blessings of liberty, including economic liberty—which means to stop putting obstacles in the way of private enterprise.

If every man is free to earn and to keep the fruits of his labor, his incentives to work and to save, to invent and invest, to launch new ventures, to try to build a better mousetrap than his neighbor, will be maximized. The effort of each will bring the prosperity of all.

Under such a system more and more citizens will acquire the capital to lend and invest, and will have the maximum inducement to lend and invest at home.

Very quickly more and more foreigners will also notice the investment opportunities in (let us call it) Libertania, and their money will come in to speed its development. They will place their funds where they promise to earn the highest returns consonant with safety. This means that the funds will go, if the investments are wisely chosen, where they are most productive. They will go where they will produce the goods and services most wanted by productive Libertanians or by foreigners. In the latter case they will produce the maximum exports, or "foreign exchange," either to pay off the investment or to pay for the import of the foreign goods most needed.

The surest way for a poor nation to *stay* poor, on the other hand, is to harass, hobble and straitjacket private enterprise or to discourage or destroy it by subsidized government competition, oppressive taxation, or outright expropriation.

Socialism versus Capitalism

Now government-to-government aid rests on Socialistic assumptions and promotes socialism and stagnation, whereas private foreign investment rests on capitalistic assumptions and promotes private enterprise and maximum economic growth.

The egalitarian and Socialistic assumptions underlying government-to-government aid are clear. Its main assumption is that the quickest way to "social" justice and progress is to take from the rich and give to the poor, to seize from Peter and give to Paul. The donor government seizes the aid money from its supposedly over-rich taxpayers; it gives it to the receiving nation on the assumption that the latter "needs" the money—not on the assumption that it will make the most productive use of the money.

Continued on next page

Mr. Hazlitt is the well-known economic and financial analyst, columnist, lecturer and author of numerous books.

Where U.S. Aid Has Gone

Here is how $115 billion in foreign aid has been distributed since 1945:

(FIGURES IN MILLIONS)

Afghanistan	$ 306	Guatemala	204	Philippines	1,889
Albania	20	Guiana (Br.)	17	Poland	551
Algeria	167	Guinea	75	Portugal	515
Argentina	723	Haiti	103	Rhodesia-Nyasaland	41
Australia	147	Honduras	74	Rwanda	1
Austria	1,199	Honduras (Br.)	4	Ryukyus	318
Belgium-Lux'b'g	1,998	Hong Kong	41	Saudi Arabia	139
Berlin (West)	132	Hungary	32	Senegal	19
Bolivia	430	Iceland	77	Sierra Leone	27
Brazil	2,819	India	5,917	Somalia	48
Burma	114	Indochina (to 1955)	1,535	South Africa	154
Burundi	7	Iran	1,580	Spain	1,931
Cambodia (since 1955)	351	Iraq	113	Sudan	89
Cameroon	25	Ireland	147	Surinam	5
Canada	36	Israel	1,098	Sweden	109
Central Africian Rep	3	Italy	6,190	Syria	83
Ceylon	91	Ivory Coast	26	Tanzania	44
Chad	4	Jamaica	39	Thailand	433
Chile	1,130	Japan	3,977	Togo	10
China (Taiwan)	4,494	Jordan	509	Trinidad-Tobago	43
Colombia	722	Kenya	35	Tunisia	472
Congo (Brazzaville)	5	Laos (since 1955)	420	Turkey	4,786
Congo (Leopoldville)	315	Lebanon	89	Uganda	18
Costa Rica	137	Liberia	236	U.S.S.R.	186
Cuba	52	Libya	231	U.A.R. (Egypt)	1,096
Cyprus	19	Malagasy	8	United Kingdom	8,714
Czechoslovakia	193	Malaysia	36	U.S. Trust Terr.	107
Dahomey	9	Mali	17	Upper Volta	6
Denmark	983	Mauritania	3	Uruguay	122
Dominican Republic	206	Mexico	1,122	Venezuela	445
Ecuador	248	Morocco	513	Viet Nam (since 1955)	2,387
El Salvador	97	Nepal	86	Yemen	40
Ethiopia	245	Netherlands	2,522	Yugoslavia	2,688
Finland	134	New Zealand	22	Zambia	1
France	9,429	Nicaragua	111		
Gabon	4	Niger	8	TOTAL	$104,220
Germany (East)	1	Nigeria	160		
Germany (West)	4,995	Norway	1,240		
Ghana	165	Pakistan	2,979		
Greece	3,744	Panama	156		
		Paraguay	91		
		Peru	627		

Additional funds for general aid undifferentiated by country or region total over $11 billion bringing grand total to over $115 billion as of June 30, 1965.

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From the very beginning government-to-government aid has been on the horns of this dilemma. If on the one hand it is made without conditions, the funds are squandered and dissipated and fail to accomplish their purpose. But if the donor government attempts to impose conditions, its attempt is immediately resented. It is called "interfering in the internal affairs" of the recipient nation, which demands "aid without strings."

In the 20 expensive years that the foreign aid program has been in effect, American officials have swung uncertainly from one horn of this dilemma to the other—imposing conditions, dropping them when criticized, silently watching the aid funds being grossly misused, then trying to impose conditions again. But now American officials seem on the verge of following the worst possible policy—that of imposing conditions, but exactly the wrong conditions.

President Johnson has announced that our future foreign aid will go to those countries "willing not only to talk about basic social change but who will act immediately on these reforms."

But what our aid officials appear to have in mind by "basic social change" is to ask of the countries that receive our grants, not that they give guarantees of the security of property, the integrity of their currencies, abstention from crippling government controls and encouragement to free markets and free enterprise, but that they move in the direction of government planning, the paternalistic state, the redistribution of land, and other share-the-wealth schemes.

Land Reform Measures

The so-called "land reform" that our government officials are demanding has meant and still means destroying existing large-scale agricultural enterprises, dividing land into plots too small for efficient or economic cultivation, turning them over to untried managers, undermining the principle of private property and opening a Pandora's box of still more radical demands.

Socialism and welfare programs lead to huge chronic government deficits and runaway inflation. This is what has happened in Latin America. In the last 10 years the currency of Argentina has lost 92 per cent of its purchasing power; the currency of Chile has lost 94 per cent; of Bolivia 95 per cent; of Brazil 96 per cent. The practical consequence of this is the expropriation of wealth on a tremendous scale.

Yet a U.S. senator, recently demanding "land reform" and ignoring history, made it a charge against the rich in these aid-receiving nations that they do not "invest in their own economies" but place their funds abroad. What he failed to ask himself is *why* the nationals of some of these countries have been sending their funds abroad or putting them in numbered accounts in Switzerland.

In most cases, he would have found that it was not only because no attractive private investment opportunities were open to them at home (because of burdensome controls, oppressive taxes, or government competition), but because they feared the wiping out of their savings by rapid depreciation of their home currencies, or even the outright confiscation of their visible wealth.

The Benefits?

In the last 20 years foreign aid has made American taxpayers $115 billion poorer, but it has not made the recipients anything like that much richer. How much good has it actually done them? The question is difficult to answer in quantitative terms, because foreign aid has often been a relatively minor factor out of the scores of factors affecting their economies.

But the advocates of foreign aid have had no trouble in giving glib and confident answers to the question. Where, as in Western Europe and Japan, our aid has been followed by dramatic recovery, the recovery has been attributed wholly to the aid (though just as dramatic recoveries occurred in war-torn nations after World War I when there was no aid program). But where our aid has not been followed by recovery, or where recipient nations find themselves in even deeper economic crises than they were before our aid began, the aid advocates have simply said that obviously our aid was not "adequate." This argument is being used very widely today to urge us to plunge into an even more colossal aid program.

A careful country-by-country study, however, shows pretty clearly that wherever a country in recent years (such as West Germany) has reformed its currency, kept it sound, and adhered in the main to the principles of free enterprise, it has enjoyed a miraculous recovery and growth.

But where a country (such as India) has chosen government planning, has adopted grandiose Socialistic "five-year plans" arbitrarily directing production into the wrong lines, has expanded its currency but kept it overvalued through exchange controls, and has put all sorts of restrictions and harassments in the way of private enterprise and private initiative, it has sunk into chronic crises or famine in spite of billions of dollars in generous foreign aid.

As Charles B. Shuman, president of the American Farm Bureau Federation, recently put it, the one common denominator in virtually all the hungry nations has been "their devotion to a Socialist political-economic system—a government-managed economy. The world does not need to starve if the underdeveloped areas can be induced to accept a market price system, the incentive method of capital formation—competitive capitalism."

Our conclusion is that government-to-government foreign aid, as it exists at present, is a deterrent, not a spur, to world economic prosperity, and even to the economic progress of the underdeveloped recipients themselves.

Wasteful Projects

This is true partly because of the very nature of foreign aid. By providing easy outside help without cost, it often fails to encourage self-help and responsibility. Moreover, government-to-government economic help almost inevitably goes to *government* projects, which frequently mean socialized projects, such as grandiose government steel mills or power dams.

It is true that there are many economic services, such as streets and roads, water supply, harbors and sanitary measures, that are usually undertaken by governments even in the most "capitalistic" countries, yet which form an essential basis and part of the process and structure of all production. Foreign as well as domestic funds may legitimately go to governments for such purposes.

Yet intergovernmental aid is likely to channel a disproportionate amount of funds even into such projects. If governments had to depend more on domestic or foreign *private investors* for these funds, less extravagant projects of this nature would be embarked upon.

Private investors, for example, might lend more freely for toll roads and bridges, and similar projects that promised to be self-liquidating, than for those that yielded no monetary return. As a result, the recipient government's planners would make more effort to put their roads and bridges where the prospective use and traffic would prove heavy enough to justify the outlay.

In addition to the conditions in the very nature of government-to-government aid that make it on net balance a deterrent rather than a spur to private enterprise and higher production, there is the recent disturbing trend in the attitude of American aid officials, who have begun to insist that underdeveloped nations cannot get more aid unless they adopt "land reform," planning and other Socialistic measures—the very measures that tend to retard economic recovery.

Conditions for Private Investment

If our aid program were now tapered off, and the underdeveloped nations had to seek foreign private capital for their more rapid development, the case would be far different.

Foreign private investors would want to see quite different reforms. They would want assurance (perhaps in some cases even guarantees) against nationalization or expropriation, against government-owned competition, against discriminatory laws, against price controls, against burdensome social security legislation, against import license difficulties on essential materials, against currency exchange taxes, and against a constantly depreciating currency. They would probably also want guarantees that they could always repatriate their capital and profits.

Foreign private investors would not *demand* the active cooperation of an enthusiastic welcome by the government of the host country, but this would certainly influence their decision considerably. In fact, foreign private investors, unless the would-be borrowers came to them, would not *demand* any conditions at all. They would place their funds where the deterrents and discouragements were fewest and the opportunities most inviting.

What the anti-capitalistic mentality seems incapable of understanding is that the very steps necessary to create the most attractive climate for *foreign* investment would also create the most attractive climate for *domestic* investment.

The nationals of an underdeveloped country, instead of sending their money abroad for better returns or sheer safekeeping, would start investing it in enterprises at home. And this domestic investment and reinvestment would begin to make foreign investment less and less urgent.

It is unlikely that reforms in the direction of free enterprise will be made by most Socialistic and control-minded countries as long as they can get intergovernmental aid without making these reforms. So a tapering off or phasing out of the American aid program will probably be necessary before a private foreign investment program is launched in sufficient volume.

A More Hopeful Alternative

I should like to renew here a suggestion for an interim program that I put forward a few years ago. This is that, from now on out, economic foreign aid would be continued solely in the form of loans rather than grants. These would be hard loans, repayable in dollars. They would bear interest at the same rate that our own government was obliged to pay for loans of equal maturity—as of today, say about 4½ per cent.

They would be repayable over not more than 25 to 30 years, like a mortgage. Like a mortgage, they would preferably be repayable, principal and interest, in equal monthly or quarterly installments, beginning immediately after the loan was made.

Such loans would not be urged on any country. The would-be borrowers would have to apply for them. They would be entitled to borrow annually, say, any amount up to the amount they had previously been receiving from us in grants or combined loans and grants.

All these requirements would be written into law by Congress. Congress would also write into law the conditions for eligibility for such loans. Among such conditions might be the following:

The borrowing government would have to refrain from any additional socialization or nationalization of industry, or any further expropriation or seizure of capital, domestic or foreign. It would undertake to balance its budget, beginning, say, in the first fiscal year after receiving the loan. It would undertake to halt inflation.

The borrowing government, for example, might agree not to increase the quantity of money by more than 5 per cent in any one year, and not to force its central bank to buy or discount any increased amount of the government's own securities. The borrowing government might be required to dismantle any exchange controls. In brief, the borrowing country and government would be obliged to move toward the conditions that would be necessary to attract private domestic or foreign capital.

Anticipated Consequences

My guess is that the mere requirement for repayment of principal and interest, to begin immediately, would in itself probably reduce applications for aid to about a third of the amounts we now pay out. The other conditions of eligibility would probably cut the applications to a sixth or a tenth of these amounts. For the borrowing governments would have to think twice about the advisability of projects for which they would have to start paying themselves. Projects would tend to be reduced to those that were self-liquidating; i.e., demonstrably economic.

The borrowing nations could not complain that we were trying to interfere in or to dictate their domestic economic policies. These would merely be the conditions of eligibility for loans. The borrowing nations would be neither forced nor urged to borrow from us.

The American administrators of the foreign loan program would not be authorized either to dictate or remove any conditions or to discriminate among borrowers. In any case, their discretion should be very narrowly circumscribed.

The benefits of such a program would be many and obvious. It would immediately cut down drastically the outflow of American funds in foreign aid. Most of the aid that we granted through such loans would be repaid with interest. We would not be courting foreign favor. The would-be borrowers would have to come to us, openly. We would cease, as now, to subsidize and expand foreign socialism.

I should make it clear that I am not proposing such a program for its own sake, but as a purely transitional measure to phase out our existing foreign-aid program with the least possible disturbance, disruption, or recrimination. This scaled-down lending program might run for, say, a maximum of three years. At the end of that time it could easily be terminated. For meanwhile the borrowing government, and particularly private enterprises in their respective countries, would have created an attractive climate, and would have become attractive media, for both domestic and foreign private investment.

In such a revitalized capitalistic climate the improvement in world economic conditions might even become spectacular.

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Ties Up With Labor Chiefs

Rockefeller Still Aiming for the White House

By VICTOR RIESEL

Nelson A. Rockefeller is going for broke. That gives him quite a distance.

And many powerful vote-getting labor leaders are his fellow travelers on an express train of history, which started rolling on this city's transit lines just a few hours after the end of the strangling subway strike.

There positively is no doubt that Gov. Rockefeller hopes the train will take him right on to Washington. Some of the labor leaders may get off before Union Station if the Democratic presidential nominee is Lyndon Johnson or Hubert Humphrey. But they'll stay right on board with "Rocky" if the opposition is Sen. Robert Kennedy.

To insiders this was most obvious at the Irish-ballad-laden memorial ceremonies to Mike Quill in labor's traditional

Labor leaders such as Dave Dubinsky (above) and Liberal party chieftain Alex Rose will likely support Gov. Rockefeller.

meeting grounds, the cavernous Manhattan Center on February 20. Ambassador Arthur Goldberg, leaving his glass towers, was cheered not so much for his words as for his symbolic representation of President Johnson.

Praise of Gov. Rockefeller by the incisive and inscrutable Harry Van Arsdale, leader of one million Central Labor Council members, was heavily applauded. No one mentioned Bob Kennedy.

But it was the obvious and sudden warmth towards "Rocky" on the part of thousands of unionists—and their influential leaders—which surprised some visitors at the memorial services.

Only those who knew the inside story realized what was happening. And here is the behind-the-scenes maneuvering which may be the making of a Republican presidential candidate:

Over the weekend of February 11 it appeared there might be another crippling transit strike—wildcat, this time.

The state Supreme Court had ruled that the transit strikers had violated the civil service anti-strike law and therefore were not entitled to their money raises.

On Friday morning union leaders and lawyers met with Mayor Lindsay, who also hopes to catch that express train to the White House. Another crippling stoppage of the city's transit facilities would certainly have wrecked his timetable.

The mayor indicated that the only way out was for Gov. Rockefeller to do something with the law—force its repeal retroactively. But then the lawyers, including Lindsay's noted city corporation counsel, J. Lee Rankin, of Warren Commission fame, met Friday afternoon.

They just could not work out any legal appeals which would not take months—and which could get them a decision sufficiently favorable to put the Transit Authority's raises into the pay envelopes.

So they all decided to meet again with Mayor Lindsay at 2:30 p.m. the following Monday. Then they put the heat on Gov. Rockefeller—unknown to the mayor. Mr. Rockefeller was having none of it.

He did not think much of a retroactive law which would say, in effect, the Transport Workers Union people had not really broken the Condon-Wadlin Act during the stoppage. This would have made the billion-dollar walkout an un-strike, an action which would hardly cheer a still irritated public. There is a gubernatorial re-election campaign upcoming.

So the labor leaders contacted AFL-CIO President George Meany, meeting with his high council in Florida. Mr. Meany telephoned Mr. Rockefeller. Then the ball was tossed to Mr. Van Arsdale, an ardent Democrat until the other month.

But Mr. Van Arsdale has become quite attached to Mr. Rockefeller. He had invited "Rocky" to speak to his big union rally, which was held just a few hours after the strike settlement last January 13. This is a rare privilege reserved mostly for Democrats. Mr. Rockefeller did not come, but only because of the city's hangover chaos.

So when Mr. Meany and Mr. Van Arsdale put it squarely to the governor to change his mind and push through a law, Mr. Rockefeller did a 180-degree turn. That was on Saturday.

On Sunday he announced he would do what the union leaders asked. Mr. Lindsay got the news on the air.

On Monday one of his aides called the union people and asked what the deuce was the need for a meeting. The law passed quickly. Mr. Rockefeller had settled everything for his new-found labor allies. But there is more, much more. The governor will also approve a raise in the state minimum wage from $1.25 an hour to $1.50—a bill which he vetoed last year.

Thus there is no doubt that he will have much of labor's backing for the first time. In the 1962 gubernatorial campaign, Transport Workers Union President Matthew Guinan helped to lead labor's committee for Bob Kennedy's candidate, Robert Morgenthau. Now Mr. Guinan will back Mr. Rockefeller.

New York's Gov. Nelson Rockefeller played up to the union leaders during transit strike.

So will Mr. Van Arsdale.

So will the Liberal party, guided by labor leaders Dave Dubinsky and Alex Rose. With such support Gov. Rockefeller could win by half-a-million votes—enough to crack the Kennedy Democratic machine, enough to give "Rocky" a fighting chance for the Republican nomination for the presidency, which he wants indeed.

That's why he's going for broke. But there will be a few labor dollars this time to help.

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Martin Luther King Seizes Chicago Tenement

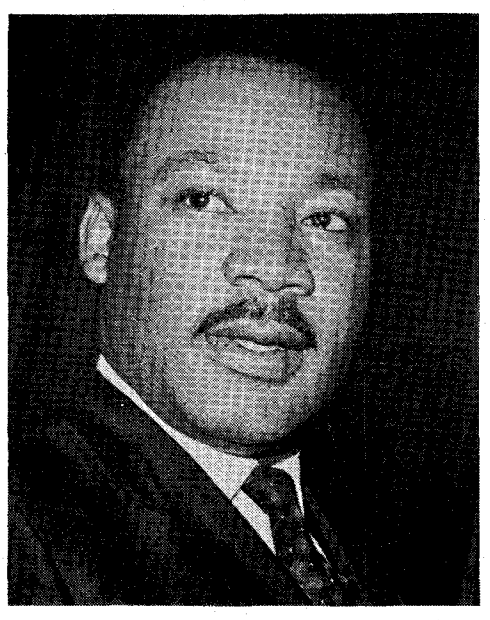
From the Chicago *Tribune*

The Rev. Martin Luther King and three civil rights organizations with which he is associated have "assumed trusteeship," without court authority, over a west side slum tenement. The Rev. Mr. King proposed to collect the rents—$400 a month—from the tenants and apply them to improvements of the building. He says nothing about meeting the mortgage payments of the owner, an elderly invalid, who says the building has produced a loss of $25,000 and he would be happy to give it away to anyone willing to take over the mortgage.

Commenting on his invasion of the property rights of others, the Rev. Mr. King said, "I won't say that it is illegal, but I would call it supralegal."

In thus ordaining himself with powers above the law, the Rev. Mr. King is consistent with his expressed philosophy that he has some gift of divination in determining what laws are to be obeyed and what laws are to be disobeyed.

In his celebrated "Letter from Birmingham Jail" in 1963, the Rev. Mr. King stated for the instruction of other clergymen, "You express a great deal of anxiety over our willingness to break laws. This is certainly a legitimate concern. Since we so diligently urge people to obey the Supreme Court's decision of 1954 outlawing segregation in the public schools, at first glance it may seem rather paradoxical for us consciously to break laws.



King calls his action "supralegal."

"One may well ask: 'How can you advocate breaking some laws and obeying others?' The answer lies in the fact that there are two types of laws: just and unjust. I would be the first to advocate obeying just laws. One has not only a legal but a moral responsibility to obey just laws. Conversely, one has a moral responsibility to disobey unjust laws. . . . An unjust law is a code that a numerical or power majority group compels a minority group to obey but does not make binding on itself."

The Rev. Mr. King's rationalization is satisfactory to himself, but the doctrine he enunciates, if universally applied by all citizens, would lead to anarchy. He now assumes to vest himself with control over the property of others in an open challenge to the law.

He proposes to run a "poverty war" of his own by putting three unemployed tenants of the building on a payroll to be met out of the rents he is impounding. He has also met with the national head of the Black Muslims, who proclaim their racial superiority, and has said that his movement will cooperate with the Muslims in fighting "an evil system" which produces slums.

The Rev. Mr. King's assertion of squatter's rights came on a day in which the Supreme Court, by a 5-to-4 decision, reversed the conviction of a group of Negroes charged with disturbing the peace after they staged a sit-in in a public library. Justice Hugo Black, speaking for the minority, said that the decision "makes it more necessary than ever that we stop and look more closely at where we are going." He stated:

"It is an unhappy circumstance, in my judgment, that the group which, more than any other, has needed a government of equal laws and equal justice is now encouraged to believe that the best way for it to advance its cause is by taking the law into its hands from place to place and from time to time."

Justice Black warned that all public buildings were now faced with the threat of invasion by mobs. The Rev. Mr. King has extended the court's unfortunate decision to license such activity by carrying a doctrine which the court confined to a public building into the area of private property rights. We await with interest, and considerable trepidation, a pronouncement from the court whether this, too, is "constitutional."

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Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara attempted last week to halt questions of reporter Clark Mollenhoff at a Pentagon news conference. Mollenhoff had accused McNamara of dodging answers to his questions. McNamara at the conference claimed the U.S. was fully capable of meeting its military commitments in Southeast Asia and around the world.

Latta Calls Supply Shortages National Disgrace; Wants Probe

By FULTON LEWIS JR.

An Ohio congressman is demanding a full-scale House probe of "critical shortages" of military hardware now plaguing American servicemen in South Viet Nam.

Rep. Delbert Latta (R.-Ohio) terms the situation a "national disgrace that can no longer be swept under the rug." American GIs, he says, are ill equipped and ill fed.

Until recently, Latta adds, two of every three soldiers stationed in South Viet Nam were eating C-rations because of food shortages and the lack of food-storage facilities.

Constituents with sons in Viet Nam have given the Buckeye congressman letters in which the GIs say they have been shortchanged on such essentials as jungle boots, underwear and socks. These shortages, Latta says, are but symptomatic of others.

He cites the following:

• Marines at Da Nang ran out of mosquito spray in the midst of a malaria epidemic that forced evacuation of 800 infected servicemen.

• Jeeps and trucks at the 1st Air Cavalry's giant complex at An Khe can be driven only when absolutely necessary because of a severe shortage of gasoline.

• Machine guns have been stripped from tanks in Europe to help plug critical shortages in South Viet Nam.

Investigators for the Senate Preparedness subcommittee have probed the Vietnamese situation and discovered the following items in dangerously short supply: mortars, trucks, troop carriers, aircraft warning systems, bomber guidance systems, even helicopters.

Pentagon censors have in fact killed a lengthy subcommittee report on shortages in Viet Nam. They assert that publication would injure national security.

Rep. Latta feels the House should also probe the massive logistics problem that has delayed the arrival of vital war material by weeks and even months. This backlog, he says, has resulted in "hold orders" on the West Coast and in ports stretching from Hawaii to Tokyo.

Newsmen back from Viet Nam report that once supplies are off the ships, there are additional delays in getting them to the troops. Warehouse space (particularly for food) is severely limited. In Saigon alone there is refrigerated space available for only 200,000 cubic feet of fresh food (a single ship can bring in more than that).

Ever-higher defense appropriations should mean that our fighting men are the best-equipped soldiers ever sent to battle. Latta is a Republican, but his charges are hardly partisan. The distinguished military editor of the New York *Times*, Hanson Baldwin, recently wrote of Viet Nam:

"Spare parts of every type for aircraft, helicopters, communication and electronic equipment, engineering equipment and motor transport are in short supply everywhere; it is not uncommon for a Navy destroyer to wait months for spares for missiles or generators. Even barbed wire, sandbags and other field fortification materials have been in short supply."

★ ★ ★

Radio Hanoi now quotes a "leading American expert" to buttress its case against U.S. foreign policy. He is Owen Lattimore, a New Deal-Fair Deal policy-maker who was the subject of a searching investigation by the Senate Judiciary Committee in the early 1950s. The committee labeled Lattimore a "conscious, articulate instrument of the Soviet conspiracy" and charged him with perjury in denying a pro-Communist bias. The indictment was dismissed on the grounds it was vaguely worded, but Lattimore remains an outspoken critic of American "imperialism." He is now teaching in England.

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LET THERE BE LIGHT—"The reason I left the ministry . . . was because I wanted to be where the sinners are. Looking around me, I am not disappointed."—White House Press Secretary Bill D. Moyers.

□ □ □

LBJ SAYS HE WANTS to direct foreign aid to nations that want to help themselves. Trouble is, most nations want to help themselves, all right—but to Uncle Sam's folding money.—by Lyn Nofziger in the San Diego *Union*

□ □ □

JUST IN TIME— "The Administration says that there are no Soviet missiles in Cuba. If we're to judge by recent history, the White House will continue to say this up to the time it tells Russia to take them out—probably right before the next election."—By Don Maclean.

Pennsylvania Court Examines Power of Urban Redevelopment

By W. CLARK HANNA

A bit of a check was applied to the urban redevelopment bulldozer by the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania in an opinion handed down on Jan. 17, 1966. The Redevelopment Authority of the City of Lancaster had undertaken to condemn certain properties for the alleged "public purpose of carrying into effect a duly approved proposal and plan for the redevelopment of an *area*"(italics added)"which had been certified as a blighted area by the Planning Commission of the city."

On a procedural technicality a majority of the court remanded to the lower court the complaint of an aggrieved property owner against the condemnation of his property by the authority. The lower court was directed to take testimony "on the question of whether the area herein involved is in fact blighted."

This, we might say, is an easy way out to a correct solution of the narrow issue before the court. Of much broader import is the concurring opinion of Chief Justice John C. Bell, long known for his opinions carefully scrutinizing the constitutional aspects of individual cases.

The chief justice notes that the Pennsylvania Redevelopment Law of 1945 grants "enormous powers" that must be carefully examined in the light of both the federal and Pennsylvania constitutions. The latter of these stipulates in its opening passage that all men have the inherent and indefeasible right, among others, of "acquiring, possessing and protecting property."

Under this umbrella subsists one of the most highly prized constitutional rights of every American citizen—the right to own and possess his own home.

Says the chief justice, "Stripped of all its attractive tinsel and pretty trappings, this blighted area act, as frequently interpreted by some non-elected, non-sovereign redevelopment authorities, is one of the most unjust and unwise acts ever passed. This act does not cover or even pertain to the elimination of slums. . .[it] permits the taking of a large area in which only a few properties are dilapidated. Moreover, realistically speaking, it has nothing to do with the public safety, or health or morals. Its real and practical purpose and intent, although cloaked in the spurious guise of public welfare, is to make any and every community it chooses to denominate 'dilapidated' *more economically prosperous* no matter what heartbreaks it brings to home-owners or losses to businessmen. . . . Even churches and other houses of worship are not exempt from the ceaseless craving of many for material prosperity and for constantly expanding political power."

From this the chief justice reaches the same conclusion as a majority of his colleagues, that the case must be remanded to the lower court, but on the broader ground that "this 'blighted area' act and the powers granted therein must, in the light of the constitutional guarantees of private property and the American heritage of individual freedom, be searchingly scrutinized and strictly construed. This the lower court failed to do."

This, of course, is not a final victory for the aggrieved property owner in his fight to save his property from the bulldozer. It does, however, throw upon the Redevelopment Authority the burden of convincing the court by competent affirmative evidence that the "area" (presumably not necessarily the particular piece of property) is in fact blighted according to the standards set in the statute.

The court was apparently not willing to go so far as to require that every property within the area in question must be proven blighted in order to be condemned, but it sets a wholesome precedent nevertheless. In Pennsylvania, at least, a proposed area condemnation for redevelopment purposes must now be based on more than the mere objective of making that area more economically prosperous for whatever comfort that may be to the owners of unblighted properties within that area.

Mr. Hanna is a lawyer in Philadelphia.

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What Price 'Progress'?

By MORRIE RYSKIND

Thus a long-time critic of these essays on my return to the columnar wars: "Bless my soul! I thought all you troglodytes had either accepted the inevitable and entered the 20th Century or committed hari-kari. How many of the 27 million Goldwaterites are left—27?"

Well, my friend, if I can judge by some 4,000 letters received in the three months I was *hors de combat*, there are still plenty of unconverted who have not accepted the Liberal Revelations. True, at the moment their forces have been dispersed by the monolithic Juggernaut which rolls over the land and they are disheartened as any group compelled to live under the heel of an invader.

But this is an Old Guard that may die, but will never surrender its basic beliefs. Its members may be dragged into but will never willingly hit the trail that leads to the mirage of the "Great Society," where everyone lives happily ever after—in chains.

They think it necessary to have a good—or at least sensible—society before you can have a great one. And they find ironic the grandiose promises pledging order and harmony for the entire world, delivered from a capital city whose own streets—as a policeman warned me—are unsafe after dark. They think the physician might well heal himself before making out prescriptions for the universe. And they are still primitive enough to rank safety above beautification.

They are bewildered when the same politico who reverently quotes JFK's famous phrase about not asking what your country can do for you but what you can do for your country, then rushes to the hopper to throw in a giveaway bill that will milk the country dry.

And they note that, though the drawing-boards of the Administration engineers are wet with tears for "the common man," the formulas that emerge are based on bloc votes and ignore the human equation.

Take one of the favorite nostrums, Urban Renewal. The very phrasing is enough to prove that Pennsylvania Avenue is far superior to Madison Avenue in salesmanship. It hints eloquently of tearing down ramshackle dwellings and turning them into havens of happiness for the underprivileged. Who can resist this appeal?

And, sure enough, the bulldozers do their work and up springs a handsome apartment house with a uniformed attendant. The eyesore that rang with the raucous shouts of children is gone. . . . And so are the poor, scattered to the four winds because they can no longer afford to live there.

Ask any doctor in the vicinity—and he'll tell you, if you know him, about the hidden cost in human values: "It's prettier, it's quieter, I get more per visit—but it's no longer a neighborhood. Something wonderful, if intangible, has gone.

"Mrs. Jones has moved some four miles away, but she still comes to see me occasionally, though I can't do anything for what really ails her. She has been uprooted—and sometimes I think that's the worst illness of all.

"She spent some 40 years here, and her neighbors were her friends. If she became ill, Mrs. Pastrano would fix some soup for her, and another neighbor's daughter would run errands for her. She knew the butcher, who saw to it that she got the cut of meat she wanted, the baker, the candlestick maker, the newsman and the cobbler, the mailman and all the rest. They were her friends, and if her check was late, nobody dunned her.

"And now? She's in a new neighborhood, where she knows nobody. At her age, she can't make new friends very well. She's a lost soul, for the ties of 40 years have been severed—and-there are thousands of Mrs. Joneses all over the city. What price progress?"

And there, I believe, is the key to the current bewilderment. Like Mrs. Jones, we, too, have been stripped of our homes, as it were, and, more importantly, of our lares and penates, the friendly household deities on whose virtues and precepts we had relied so long. But now God is dead, self-reliance is out, and patriotism is a dirty word.

In corroboration, I offer the testimony of a prominent Los Angeles teacher, one not always on my side. In her school, the history instructor became ill, and a flaming Miss Liberal was assigned to the class. Asked how she came out, she reported, "I gave it to 'em straight. When we got to that Nathan Hale bit about regretting he had only one life to give for his country, I told 'em only a kook could have said a thing like that."

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Patriotic Officer

From the Richmond (Ind.) *Palladium-Item*

One would hardly think that a fervent expression of patriotism would lead to a mental examination, but that is what has happened to a New York police detective.

The officer was sent to check a report that a bomb had been placed in a building where 1,500 had gathered for an anti-war demonstration.

No bomb was found, but the officer was instructed to remain on duty just in case. So he listened to a collection of writers, poets and actors criticize American policy in Viet Nam.

The officer, a Navy frogman during World War II, stood it as long as he could. He strode to the stage, said he was backing our boys in Viet Nam and tried to get the demonstrators to sing God Bless America. **Naturally they didn't. It wasn't that kind of a meeting.**

Perhaps the policeman acted on an emotional impulse which he should have resisted, since he was on duty. But he only said what was in his heart.

Because he let love for his country stir him into trying to answer the "peaceniks," he finds his sanity questioned. One might wonder if the tests should not have been directed at those who enjoy the freedoms this country provides, but don't want to have to fight to preserve them.

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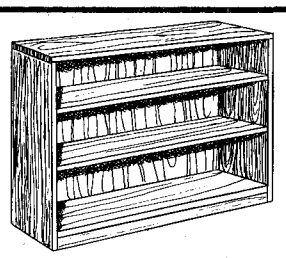

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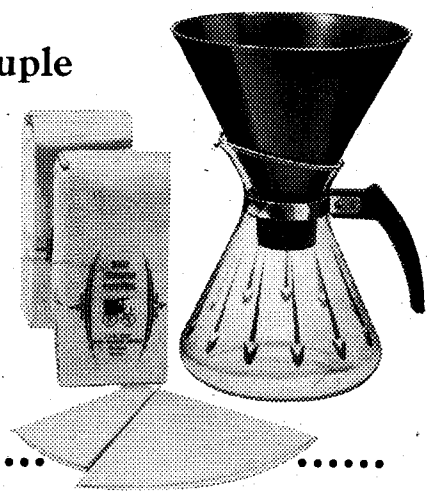

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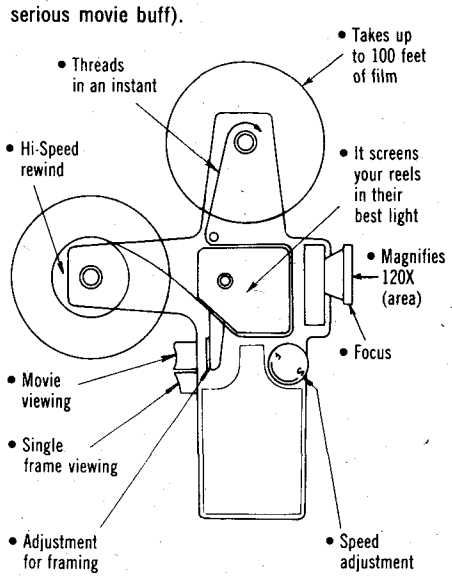
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Only Mean More Spending

Johnson's New Tax Increases Won't Halt Runaway Inflation

By HENRY J. TAYLOR

Here we go again—sold down the river by an utterly false idea. Another burst of political nonsense floods the nation: A tax increase would dampen the inflation.

In simple, transparent truth it has no more to do with stopping inflation now than Batman or the frug.

It's easy to see why politicians claim a connection between taxes and inflation. People don't like taxes. They also don't like inflation. The political problem, if you must raise taxes, is to show somehow that this helps the public welfare as a "battle against inflation." Hokus—hokey—hokum.

Suppose the government spenders add a thousand dollars a year to your income tax or mine, what happens to the money? They take it from us and spend it themselves. The money supply and the pressure of purchases has not been reduced by one nickel.

We have a thousand dollars less to spend for ourselves. The bureaucrats have a thousand dollars more.

Actually, under today's conditions, increasing taxes creates more inflation. But are we told this? When taxes go up, take-home pay goes down. Millions need higher wages to live on what they earn, after taxes. This presses wages higher and higher as taxes go higher and higher.

Wages and taxes alike are prime items in the costs of production. Prices mount as wages mount and the higher taxes fuel them both. Up goes the cost of living.

Moreover, the "Great Society's" currency rotating process passes the people's tax money through a sieve of government overhead that drains off more of its value all the time. It costs the government so much to run itself that, no matter what the spending agencies do with the tax money left over, great loss is sustained by the working people who supply the money in the first place.

The only time an income tax is anti-inflationary is when it is used to reduce the government debt or in other ways used to lessen the money supply.

Nothing like that is proposed. All the talk is about more and more spending, more and more blowing into the inflationary balloon.

Taxes have several profoundly important virtues. They are the means by which a properly managed government can pay as it goes. Thus they are, in theory, the only real restraint on unlimited government spending. But the Washington Robin Hoods of the Red Ink found great political advantage by finally calling any restraints a "myth."

As one result the federal debt of $283 billion, which the New Frontier-"Great Society" inherited, is now officially expected to be $322 billion by July 1.

The inflationary chickens have come home to roost. The chief inflationary pressure is the government's mishandling of our own money at home and abroad. This pressure cannot be stopped until the deficit financing (government spending beyond income) is stopped. But the politicians have no such intention.

If these opportunist Robin Hoods of the Red Ink said they were increasing taxes to meet and balance expenditures, they would be fighting a true battle against inflation. Instead, all they're doing is to couple together in the public mind two badly misunderstood subjects (taxation and inflation), both of which are unpopular, and heroically present one as a solution for the other.

It's astounding that any business or other non-political observers let this false connection go unchallenged. Yet some even say, "We don't like a tax increase, but inflation is worse." The power of cliches and falsities has become enormous and it's tragic to hear them confirm such nonsense.

We're faced by vast needs for government spending, much of which is unavoidable. But it is highly doubtful that we need higher taxes to meet the unavoidable needs because a reduction in the avoidable needs (and waste) probably could see us through without a tax increase. The tax intake is already tremendous.

In any case, the tax-inflation falsity has no place in a living problem as serious as this. The public that pays the bill is entitled to know that a public relations gimmick is ruling the subject and that we're the victims of an end run around the simple truth.

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□ □ □

Pro-Labor NLRB Decision

From the *Weekly Labor Forecast and Review*

In another move to help unions win elections, the National Labor Relations Board has announced that in all future elections, starting March 1966, it will require employers to furnish unions a list of all employes eligible to vote and their addresses so that unions can campaign by mail, telephone calls, personal calls at employes' homes, and any other means they wish to use.

The board ruled in two consolidated cases, involving Excelsior Underwear, Inc., and K.L. Kellogg & Sons, where unions had lost elections by votes of 35 to 206 and 9 to 21. The losing unions asked the board to set aside the elections and conduct new ones after ordering the employers to furnish unions such lists of employes.

The board did not set aside the elections in these two cases, but in its decision announced its new "requirement that will be applied in all election cases." Under this requirement, it said, "within seven days after a regional director has approved a consent-election agreement entered into by the parties, or after the regional director has directed an election, the employer must file with the regional director an election eligibility list, containing the names and addresses of all the eligible voters. The regional director shall, in turn, make this information available to all parties in the case. Failure to comply with this requirement shall be grounds for setting aside the election whenever proper objections are filed."

The board further announced that this requirement "will not apply in the instant cases but only in those elections that are directed, or consented to subsequent to 30 days from the date of this decision. We impose this brief period of delay to insure that all parties to forthcoming representation elections are fully aware of their rights and obligations as here stated."

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SPOTLIGHT on CONGRESS

Losing Local Control

By. REP. JOHN BYRNES (R.-Wis.)

In many federal aid programs, the federal government will make a 90 per cent grant if the local government pays 10 per cent of the cost. Now, in the Administration's new City Demonstration program, it is proposed that the federal government share 80 per cent of the 10 per cent local share if *the city knuckles under to a few more federal rules and regulations. The next logical step will be for the federal government to pay 90 per cent of the city's 20 per cent share of the 10 per cent share* if *the cities will turn over city hall to federal bureaucrats.*

Hidden Sales Tax

By REP. FRANK T. BOW (R.-Ohio)

If the Johnson Administration proposed a 2 per cent sales tax on everything we buy and a 4 per cent sales tax on food, the howls of protest would shake the White House and politicians would run for cover. Why then is there so little protest today when policies of this Administration have led to a 2 per cent increase in the cost of living in the past 12 months, a 3.7 per cent increase in the price of food, and the secretary of agriculture blithely predicts that these trends will continue this year? The answer must lie in the fact that many people do not understand the effect of government extravagance on the purchasing power of the dollar. They have failed to connect the increased prices for almost everything they need with the inflationary policies that make dollars buy less year after year.

Misleading Phrases

By. SEN. NORRIS COTTON (R.-N.H.)

I am tired of grandiose phrases like "liberate the spirit of man" or "a clean room and a patch of sky for every person" and then having to fight to save the milk for our school children. I am tired of declarations like "Americans have always built for the future. That is why we established land-grant colleges"—and then seeing the land-grant colleges thimblerigged out of their traditional support. I am tired of noble proclamations that start off like a religious creed and wind up in ward politics. They bring to mind the quip of the Quaker president of Haverford College: "Quakers believe in the fatherhood of God, the brotherhood of man, and the neighborhood of Philadelphia."

Veep's House

By REP. GERALD FORD (R.-Mich.)

Committee hearings were opened last week on a bill (H.R. 12944) to provide a $750,000 home for the vice president. According to its sponsors the mansion will be "a three-story, brick and stone structure, three-car garage, with grounds properly landscaped and fenced" on a site at the U.S. Naval Observatory in northwest Washington. A senior Republican member of the Committee on Armed Services raised this question: "Why should we at this time concern ourselves about furnishing an expensive house for the vice president, admittedly needed, when the secretary of defense refuses to use the funds we have already appropriated to furnish proper housing for our fighting men?" He pointed out that some of our servicemen have been living in little more than barns, even in tents, and that Secretary McNamara had shelved an appropriation for necessary military housing on the basis of other budget demands and that it would add to inflation. If this is true, why the rush for an expensive new home for the vice president? This is one expenditure than can wait. I hope the House Committee on Public Works kills the bill.

Teen-age Security

By REP. THOMAS B. CURTIS (R.-Mo.)

With every appearance of being serious, Labor Secretary W. Willard Wirtz has advocated making Social Security payments to teen-agers as well as retired workers. He didn't explain how such a system might work, but, with a perfectly straight face, he told the Joint Economic Committee: "There is increasing reason to believe that the first 20 years of most American boys' and girls' lives ought to go into one kind of training or another, perhaps in some cases a mixture of education and work but with the emphasis on preparation." Under questioning, Secretary Wirtz said he would oppose a lower minimum wage for teen-agers, below the minimum paid older, more experienced workers.

LBJ's Relatives

By REP. H. R. GROSS (R.-Iowa)

With at least four of his relatives on the government payroll, some of them flitting in and out of Washington to distant parts of the world at taxpayer expense, it figures that President Johnson would order two yachts out of mothballs and made ready for summer cruising. A brother-in-law is employed by the Federal Aviation Agency at a salary somewhere between $19,600 and $25,000; a niece is employed by the Peace Corps at $17,531; a daughter of Mrs. Johnson's cousin is employed at the White House at $5,702 a year, and then there's the curio-dealer brother-in-law who drags down $75 per day and all expenses as a foreign aid consultant, presumably to tell natives in distant lands the wonders of the curio business.

When the payrolling relatives assemble, and the real socializing begins in connection with the Johnson-Nugent wedding, there ought to be plenty of work for the U.S. Navy's sailors aboard the yachts. We hope they will give the taxpayers a break and turn off the lights when the yachts are not in use.

□ □ □

A FOOL AND HIS MONEY are soon parted; others usually wait for it to be taxed.

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House Passes Excise Tax Hike

LBJ's bill (H.R. 12752) to increase tax revenues by $1.2 billion in fiscal 1966 and $4.8 billion in fiscal 1967 has had a difficult time getting through Congress. The House finally adopted the bill by a 246-146 roll-call vote February 23, but not without much heated discussion.

Some House liberals attacked the bill because LBJ said he needed the money to finance the war in Viet Nam. But the major opposition came from conservatives—both Republicans and Democrats. They argued with some vehemence that LBJ could easily acquire the money he needs to fight the war in Viet Nam by drastically cutting down on the "War on Poverty" and other "Great Society" programs. As Henry J. Taylor points out in his column on the opposite page, Johnson's plans to increase tax revenue will not help stop the inflationary spiral.

The most controversial part of the President's program was the provision to restore excise taxes, the only part of the bill to actually boost tax rates. (Congress, on LBJ's request, had actually reduced excise taxes just last year.) The other portions of the bill only provided for speeding up payments under existing rates.

A motion by Rep. James B. Utt (R.-Calif.) to knock out the excise tax restoration was narrowly defeated by a 187-to-207 roll-call vote (see below). Many members felt that if LBJ was denied this revenue he might have to think twice about new federal spending schemes.

Debate on the LBJ tax increase was sharp. Rep. Jack Betts (R.-Ohio) remarked: "In an important sense the bill before us today is not just a tax bill; it is a spending bill. The bill is before us because we have spent too much in the past, we are spending too much in the present, and we propose to spend too much in the future. And the truth of the matter is that if the Congress acquiesces in the fiscal policies of this Administration the bill now before us will not be the last tax bill that we will be requested to approve this year.

"The alleged justification for this increase in the tax burden . . . is the recognized need to finance fully the cost of our defense commitments in Southeast Asia. But the truth of the matter is that our necessary defense spending could largely be met out of existing revenues if the Administration would only agree to defer some of its grandiose 'Great Society' spending programs."

Rep. Utt, author of the motion to kill the excise taxes, said: "In the last two years our excesses of spending outside of Viet Nam have gone mainly into what they call the 'Great Society,' which is not in my estimation a free society. It is an enforced welfare state which has failed in every country which adopted it."

Here is the roll-call vote on Rep. Utt's amendment to cut out the excise tax increases:

REPUBLICANS FOR: 111

Adair
Anderson (Ill.)
Andrews, Glenn
Andrews (N.D.)
Arends
Ashbrook
Belcher
Bell
Berry
Betts
Bolton
Bow
Bray
Broomfield
Brown (Ohio)
Broyhill (N.C.)
Buchanan
Burton (Utah)
Callaway
Carter
Chamberlain
Clancy
Clausen, Don
Clawson, Del
Collier
Conable
Conte
Cunningham
Curtin
Dague
Davis (Wis.)
Derwinski
Devine
Dickinson
Dole
Duncan (Tenn.)
Dwyer
Edwards (Ala.)
Ellsworth
Erlenborn
Findley
Fino
Ford, Gerald
Fulton (Pa.)
Goodell
Griffin
Gross
Grover
Gurney
Hall
Halleck
Halpern
Hansen (Idaho)
Harsha
Horton
Hosmer
Hutchinson
Johnson (Pa.)
Jonas
Keith
King (N.Y.)
Kunkel
Kupferman
Langen
Latta
Lipscomb
McClory
McCulloch
McDade
McEwen
MacGregor
Martin (Neb.)
Mathias
Michel
Minshall
Mize
Moore
Morse
Morton
Mosher
Nelsen
Pirnie
Poff
Quie
Quillen
Reid (Ill.)
Reid (N.Y.)
Reifel
Reinecke
Rhodes (Ariz.)
Robison
Rumsfeld
Saylor
Schweiker
Shriver
Skubitz
Smith (Calif.)
Smith (N.Y.)
Springer
Stanton
Thomson
Tupper
Utt
Walker (Miss.)
Watkins
Watson
Whalley
Wilson, Bob
Wyatt
Wydler
Younger

DEMOCRATS FOR: 76

Abbitt
Abernethy
Andrews, George
Ashmore
Bandstra
Baring
Brown (Calif.)
Cabell
Cameron
Clark
Clevenger
Conyers
Cooley
Corman
Craley
Davis (Ga.)
Diggs
Dulski
Foley
Ford, Wm. D.
Fountain
Fulton (Tenn.)
Fuqua
Gettys
Giaimo
Griffiths
Haley
Hanley
Hardy
Henderson
Hicks
Hull
Hungate
Jarman
Jennings
Jones (Mo.)
Jones (N.C.)
Kastenmeier
Kornegay
Landrum
Leggett
Lennon
Long (La.)
McMillan
Mackie
Marsh
Nedzi
O'Hara (Mich.)
O'Neal (Ga.)
Ottinger
Passman
Race
Randall
Rogers (Fla.)
Roncalio
Rooney (Pa.)
Roybal
Satterfield
Schisler
Schmidhauser
Secrest
Selden
Shipley
Sikes
Stalbaum
Stephens
Taylor
Tuck
Tuten
Vivian
Waggonner
Walker (N.M.)
Weltner
Whitener
Whitten
Williams

REPUBLICANS AGAINST: 22

Ayres
Bates
Battin
Brock
Broyhill (Va.)
Byrnes (Wis.)
Cahill
Cleveland
Corbett
Curtis
Frelinghuysen
Harvey (Mich.)
Laird
Mailliard
Martin (Mass.)
May
O'Konski
Pelly
Schneebeli
Stafford
Teague (Calif.)
Widnall

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Adams
Addabbo
Albert
Anderson (Tenn.)
Annunzio
Ashley
Aspinall
Barrett
Beckworth
Bennett
Bingham
Boggs
Boland
Bolling
Brademas
Brooks
Burke
Burton (Calif.)
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Callan
Carey
Casey
Celler
Colmer
Culver
Daddario
Daniels
Dawson
de la Garza
Delaney
Dent
Denton
Dingell
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Dow
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Garmatz
Gathings
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Hamilton
Hanna
Hansen (Iowa)
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Hathaway
Hawkins
Hays
Hechler
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Herlong
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Howard
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Ichord
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Jacobs
Joelson
Johnson (Calif.)
Johnson (Okla.)
Jones (Ala.)
Karsten
Karth
Kelly
Keogh
King (Utah)
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Love
McCarthy
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McGrath
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Macdonald
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Mackay
Madden
Mahon
Matsunaga
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Mills
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Mink
Moeller
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O'Brien
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Pucinski
Purcell
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Reuss
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Rostenkowski
Roush
Ryan
St. Germain
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Senner
Sickles
Sisk
Smith (Va.)
Staggers
Steed
Stratton
Stubblefield
Sullivan
Sweeney
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Thompson (Tex.)
Todd
Trimble
Tunney
Udall
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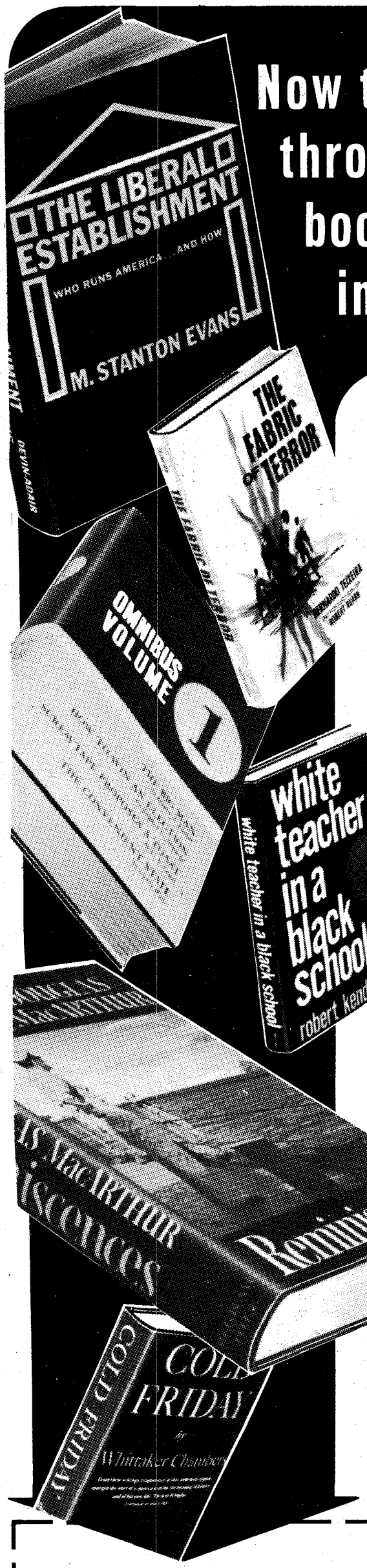

Now the Conservative Book Club comes through with the boldest offer since book clubs first appeared back in the roaring 20's...

Purpose: to challenge you to try the book service that GUARANTEES to please you (and every other thinking conservative). Please read on for details.

WHEN we came up with this idea, our cautious Treasurer had one word for it: "Crazy." And he meant *crazy*, not "Crazy, man, crazy."

We disagree. We disagree because we have confidence in the Conservative Book Club. We are convinced that once you try it, you'll like it.

This is the new experimental plan. If you will fill out and mail the coupon below, we will send you, entirely free, a surprise book worth at least $5.95 at retail. (The book may be worth more than $5.95, but we guarantee it will be worth at least that much.)

The surprise book will be one of our recent Club Selections. (We always print slightly more that we expect to sell, in order to allow for extra orders and unexpected demand.) The reason we send you a recent Selection is to let you judge for yourself the good reading you will enjoy as a member.

Moreover, you can indicate in the coupon whether your primary concern lies in the Communist menace, or in domestic politics, or in free-market economics. This will help us pick the book most likely to appeal to you, from among those we have in stock when we receive your coupon.

This Offer Is WIDE OPEN

That's right. When you send the coupon to get your free book, you also enroll as a trial member of the Club. But — you can quit *anytime*. The very next day, if you wish! You don't have to buy any minimum number of books, ever.

Naturally, it is our hope that you will remain a member at least for a few months, to give us a chance to prove ourselves. But the decision rests with you. If you resigned immediately, you would be entirely within your rights.

If you do stay with us, you will receive each month the free Club Bulletin. It describes in elaborate detail the Club Selection and Alternate for the month. We think you will find that the Bulletin alone makes membership worthwhile. It keeps you up to date on the best conservative books, even those you may not have time to read.

As a member, you are eligible for very good discounts on those Club Selections you decide to take. Most discounts run abount 33%, but many have been 50% or higher. Once we were able to offer a 75% discount.

You are never charged in advance if you buy a Club book, and never billed C.O.D. Your credit is good with us.

Your sole obligation as a member is to let us know when you don't want a Club Selection. You can do this in a few seconds on the handy form that comes as part of your Bulletin, or you can simply use a postcard.

The Risk Is Ours. You Have Nothing to Lose.

Upwards of 32,000 alert conservatives are already enjoying the benefits of membership in CBC (*not*, for heaven's sake, to be confused with CBS). But there are many among you who still have not tried membership. As a loyal reader of this publication, we think you are sure to find the Club books stimulating, the Club prices unbeatable, the Club crusade for conservative books well worth your support.

But talk is cheap. With this "crazy" offer, the burden of proof is on us. Put CBC to the test. Mail the coupon below or write on your own stationery to Conservative Book Club, 542 Main Street, New Rochelle, New York 10801.

Your free surprise book will be sent immediately. And even our skeptical Treasurer will be glad to admit he was wrong.

CONSERVATIVE BOOK CLUB *542 Main Street, New Rochelle, New York 10801*

Fair enough. Send me my free surprise book worth at least $5.95 at retail, and enroll me as a trial member in your Club. I may resign at any time simply by notifying you, and I am never obliged to buy any books from you. As long as I remain a member, I get a free subscription to the monthly Club Bulletin and am eligible for the best Club discounts on every Selection and Alternate. Nearly all Club books will be sold for about 33% discount plus shipping. Sometimes the discount will be much higher, rarely lower. My only obligation is to advise you when I don't want a Club Selection, for which purpose you will provide a handy form each month. If I want the monthly Selection, I need do nothing. It will come automatically.

To help you choose the free conservative book that will please me most, I am checking below the subject I am most concerned about:

☐ the Communist menace ☐ domestic politics ☐ free-market economics HE-21

Name _____

(please print)

Address _____

City/Zone _____ *State* _____

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